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JPRS-EPS-85-072

1 July 1985

19981105 136

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 July 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

DEFENSE MINISTER'S ORDER OF DAY ON VE DAY

AU090945 Tirana ATA in English 0840 GMT 9 May 85

["Order of the Day of the Minister of People's Defence on Occasion of 9 May, the 40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Fascism"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 9 May (ATA)--Comrade soldiers, volunteers, sub-officers and officers, on 9 May, our people and their armed forces, commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, one of the greatest events in the world history, which dealt the irreparable blow to the capitalist system, instigated the national liberation struggles, marked the decline of colonialism and created a new ratio of forces in favour of socialism and revolution.

Our respected homeland, Albania, became an active member of the great world anti-fascist coalition. Our people, led by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, fought with rare heroism and rendered an outstanding contribution to the victory over fascism and they are proud of this before history. Our national liberation war, the most glorious, most organised and most conscious people, being turned into a people's revolution, achieved the national and social liberation, provided to Albania the people's power and opened the new horizons of socialism. This is one of the most brilliant and most monumental deeds of the party and its glorious founder and leader Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The history of the Second World War and present situations more than ever call for vigilance, so that we never be taken aback. The party and people demand from all you, to be always fully on the alert and be trained to the highest degree. Be always characterized by the order and lofty and conscious discipline, preserve and develop as the most sacred thing the brilliant features and virtues of the national liberation army, master profoundly the art of the people's struggle and improve the political military training. We must never forget the struggle we waged, the blood we shed and the privations we suffered, we must defend the homeland making every sacrifice, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism we build.

On occasion of 9 May, the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, I greet and wish you ever greater successes in performing the tasks set by the party to strengthen uninterruptedly the defence potential of the homeland.

In honour of this jubilee, in our capital Tirana, on 9 May, at 10 o'clock, 10 gun salutes will be fired, while in the cities of Gjirokaster, Vlore, Berat, Durres, Kruja, Shkoder, Kukes, Elbasan, Peshkopi, and Korce, 5 gun salutes.

Glory to our heroic people, who under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, rendered their worthy contribution to the struggle and victory over fascism.

Long live the PLA, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Glory to Marxism-Lenism.

[Words indistinct] the minister of people's defence Propkop Murra.

Tirana, 8 May 1985.

CSO: 2020/137

ALBANIA

ALIA MESSAGE TO TU PAPER

AU280858 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 28 May 85

["Greetings of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania Comrade Ramiz Alia Addressed to the Editorial Board of the Newspaper PUNA--the 40th Anniversary of the Newspaper PUNA Commemorated"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 28 May (ATA)---The ceremony of the 40th anniversary of the appearance of the first issue of the newspaper PUNA, on 1 May 1945 under the direct care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally was organised yesterday afternoon. A jubilee meeting was organised on the occasion.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Rita Marko, the Chief of the Sector of the Press at the apparatus of the Central Committee of the party Dhimiter Tona and other guests.

The meeting was declared open by the President of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania Sotir Kocollari.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Rita Marko read out the greeting, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to the Editorial Board of the newspaper PUNA on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the appearance of its first issue.

The newspaper PUNA, the greeting stresses, appeared in the first year of the freedom upon the decision of the Central Committee of the party, on the initiative and special care of the beloved leader of our people and revolution Comrade Enver Hoxha. So, in the epoch of the party, it became possible that for the first time the working class has its own press, to have in its hands a powerful weapon for the communist education and mobilisation of the masses in the struggle for socialism,.

The newspaper PUNA, side by side [with] ZERI I POPULLIT and the other organs of the press, the greeting says further on has made a great contribution as propagator, inspirer and organizer of the great work of our skillful and sharp-minded workers to successfully fulfill the five-year plans.



In its pages it has reflected the vigorous growth and the allsided development of our working class, which here, is not united with the trade unions organisation merely as for the professions, but above all by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of the party.

As a militant organ of the workers who love, respect and nourish it with their revolutionary spirit, the newspaper PUNA over these 40 years of its life has lent a great assistance to affirm the leading role of the working class in the new Albanian society, its role as a leading force in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Step by step, your newspaper has followed and brought to the fore with love and passion, the great deed of the working class in the socialist construction of the country, the magnificent victories has been attained, its efforts to overcome the numerous difficulties of the growth, as well as the difficulties created by the imperialist-revisionist blockade. The newspaper PUNA with its writings had instigated the creative and innovative spirit of the working class, has educated the proletarian discipline and the party spirit, has inspired the courage and revolutionary drive of the working masses in struggle for the all-sided economic and social progress of the country, has supported and encouraged the efforts of the working class to constantly elevate its educational and cultural level and the scale of technical-scientific qualification.

The newspaper PUNA, the greeting underlines, must continue to encourage and support the revolutionary initiatives and movements that emerge in the fold of the working class, particularly it must support and spread the revolutionary initiative "standard bearer in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" which is a movement with a great political, ideological and economic meaning, expression of the steel links and unity of the working class and of all the working people with the party, with the deed and teachings of Comrade Enver.

The editors of the newspaper PUNA just as all the numerous journalists and collaborators of the press, living and militating in the fold of the working class and labouring peasantry, knowing and feeling closely their opinions and preoccupations, will bring in the pages of the newspaper the militant spirit and the selfless efforts of the working class and all the working people to realise the line and directive of the party, will reflect with veracity their struggle for the socialist construction of the country, according to the great principle self-reliance, their optimism and confidence in the sure future of our beloved homeland, the greeting says in conclusion.

The greeting was listened to with great attention and was received with ardent applause and powerful acclamations for the party.

The editor-in-chief of the newspaper PUNA Namik Dokle made the speech on the occasion.

Then, Comrade Rita Marko handed over "the order of the flag" awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly to this newspaper with the following motivation: "For propagating and applying the line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the contribution rendered to the education and

mobilization of the working people to fulfill the tasks set by the party for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland." Likewise orders and medals were awarded to the working people, coworkers and revolutionary correspondents of this newspaper.

A message was sent from the meeting to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

In this context, a seminar was organized with voluntary correspondents and coworkers of the newspaper PUNA in the Hall of the Journalists' Club on 27 May afternoon.

CSO: 2020/137

1 July 1985

## ALBANIA

## ALIA GREETES GREEK LANGUAGE PAPER ON ANNIVERSARY

AU261600 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 26 May 85

["Comrade Ramiz Alia first secretary of the CC of the PLA Greets the Editorial Staff of the Newspaper ILAIKO VIMA on Occasion of Its 40th Anniversary--The 40th Anniversary of This Newspaper Celebrated"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 26 May (ATA)--Forty years ago, on 25 May 1945, under the auspices of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, the first issue of the newspaper ILAIKO VIMA, organ of the Democratic Front of the District of Gjirokaster for the Greek minority, appeared.

To celebrate this marked event, a jubilee meeting was organized in the City of Gjirokaster on 25 May. Present were also the member of the Central Committee of the party, Sofokli Lazri, the general secretary of the Democratic Front of Albania, Xhorxhi Robo and other comrades.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present Comrade Sofokli Lazri read out the greeting that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia has addressed to the editorial board of the newspaper ILAIKO VIMA on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the appearance of its first issue.

Today you are celebrating an unforgettable anniversary and an historic event for the Greek minority, a marked event regarding the attempts of the communist party, the people's power and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally for the correct solution in a Marxist-Leninist way of the national question in Albania, the greeting says among other things.

Forty years ago, under their direct auspices, only a few months after the for-eight occupiers were driven out of our country and the blood thirsty beys and agas were overthrown, ILAIKO VIMA, the first newspaper in the Greek language issued in Albania, begun to be published in Gjirokaster.

The 40 years long history of your newspaper is the history of the development and emancipation of the Greek minority in Albania, of their higher cultural and living level, of the consolidation of the unity with their Albanian brothers.

The history of ILAIKO VIMA is a 40 years' long testimony to the same rights and tasks that the minority people enjoy as equal citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to the preservation and development of their national traditions, of the mother tongue and culture, to the development of their political and ideological conscience.

The thousands of issues of ILAIKO VIMA over these 40 years represent the vivid chronicles of the war of the people of minority for the construction of the new life and the defence of the homeland, for the formation of the new patriotic and devoted man to the cause of socialism.

The newspaper ILAKO VIMA, the greeting says further on, always loyal to the line of the party for all the questions and in all the fields, has fought with a lofty militant spirit to propagate and implement it. Under the leadership of the party and according to its teachings, it has made efforts to inspire, mobilize and organize the masses to realise the great revolutionary transformations made in our country, to safeguard the victories of the national liberation war and the people's revolution, for which much blood and sweat is shed.

The newspaper ILAKO VIMA, led by the party, is a newspaper issued by the minority people and for the minority people. In its pages are published writings by other writers, poets and artists, in the Greek language about the new life in our country, the love and friendship between the minority people and their Albanian brothers, the brilliant perspective of our people.

I am convinced that always you will be led by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great friend of the minority who has shown so much care and interest of the development and progress of the minority. His warm meetings and talks with the people of the minority, his words and advice are for you an inexhaustible source of inspiration and encouragement.

By strengthening the links with the masses, extensively voicing advanced opinion of the people, their feelings and aspirations, the determination to march ahead in steel unity with the fraternal Albanian people, you will make the newspaper ILAIKO VIMA, a real tribune of the work and life of the minority, the greeting says in conclusion.

The greeting was listened to with attention and received with applause. The speech on the occasion was held by the editor-in-chief of this newspaper Vasil Cami. After thanking the party for the great honour made to the collective, he spoke of the 40 year long road of this organ, which has reflected the realisation of those rights and that genuine equality that socialism brought in Albania, the life, well-being and the radical changes made over the years of the party in Dropull and everywhere where the minority people live and work.

Then Comrade Xhorxhi Robo handed over the "Order of Labour, First Class" awarded to this newspaper by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Order and medals were given also to the working people, co-workers and correspondents of this newspaper.

From the meeting a message was sent to the Central Committee of the party and to the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania].

In this context, a jubilee session was held in the higher pedagogical institute and papers were read out. The new building of the editorial board of ILAIKO VIMA was inaugurated as well.

CSO: 2020/137

ALBANIA

HOXHA'S FIGHT AGAINST HOSTILE ELEMENTS IN PARTY RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Foto Cami, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AWP: "Enver Hoxha--Founder, Organizer and Leader of Our Glorious Party"]

[Text] In the ancient and modern history of the Albanian people, in the history of its centuries-old wars for freedom and independence, for social emancipation and progress, in the history of its efforts to defend and develop its national language and culture, its identity as a nation and a people, the most brilliant and glorious epoch is that which is linked with the name of the party and with the name of its great and unforgettable founder, organizer and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Years and centuries will pass, but future generations in Albania will always remember with particular reverence that great historic act which the Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, undertook on 8 November 1941, when they founded the Communist Party, that act which would determine the whole course of events from the time of the struggle for liberation and the whole road traversed for the building of socialism.

Just as the great event of the foundation of the party is exceptional and unprecedented in its dimensions, so also is its central figure incomparable--the figure of the man who founded the party, who was placed at its head and who led the anti-fascist struggle for national liberation, the struggle for socialist construction in the country and the great battles in which that figure, together with the people, defended the victories that had been achieved and defended Marxism-Leninism. With extraordinary speed, time affirmed the party as the sole leader of the masses, as the expression of their interests and aspirations and capable of assuming great tasks; with equal speed, time affirmed Enver Hoxha as founder of the party and its illustrious leader, as gifted organizer and heroic guide of the people in the liberation struggle and the popular revolution.

Whenever we speak about the foundation of the party, we always have to see it as inextricably linked with the exceptional role that Comrade Enver played. "The great act that Enver Hoxha accomplished in that turbulent and dark November of 1941 by founding the Communist Party," Comrade Ramiz Alia

emphasized at the mourning meeting in the capital, "gave the light which the Albanian people lacked, gave the perception to see the future and gave the staff which would lead in the titanic struggle for life or death. The burden which the Albanian communists assumed at that time was a heavy one and their shoulders were very tender. But they bore it with honor and carried it to the end, because at their head they had a great leader who knew well what was required and where it was necessary to go."

It was Comrade Enver's great merit that he studied the situations and circumstances of that time thoroughly, that he evaluated them in an overall fashion, that he analyzed them precisely with sound Marxist-Leninist logic and undertook the bold action of approaching communist groups, which would lead directly to the historical union and the foundation of the party. It was Comrade Enver who, more than anyone else, understood that the grave conditions of fascist occupation made this task even more urgent and he set this as an indispensable historical necessity for leading the resistance and struggle of the people for liberation from fascist slavery. For that reason Comrade Enver, at the founding meeting, stressed the imperative necessity for the formation of the party: "Objective needs require this, the working class requires it, the communists require it, the historic moments through which our country is passing require it and the people, who are calling us to launch ourselves into battle together with them, require it." The founding of the PKSH [Albanian Communist Party] is the work of Albanian communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, and no one else.

The fact that the Albanian Communist Party was created in a country where the working class was numerically quite small and unformed as a class attests to a great maturity and clear-sightedness, as well as to an entirely original solution outside any narrow scheme. It honorably accomplished its mission as a party of the working class because, from the very beginning, it placed the revolutionary ideology of the working class at its foundation; it was formed as a party of the new type, with Marxist-Leninist ideological, organizational, strategic and tactical bases, following the example of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

It is these sound bases which ensured the great successes which came to our newly formed party while it gradually grew and which it achieved in the creation of incalculably valuable experience during the war, as well as in the period of socialist building. It is these sound bases which make the party full of vitality and which give it strength. In the book, "Kur lindi Partia" (Kujtime) ["When the Party Was Born" (Memoirs)], Comrade Enver stressed "Our party was neither an adventurous enterprise which would be overcome by the first storm nor a toy of children who build castles in the sand. The communists who founded and built their party with blood and colossal sacrifices might have been young in age, but the people from which they came were an old people--clever, intelligent, valiant and courageous. The ideology which they represented was that of the class to which the future belonged, it was the pivot of that colossal force which would raise the people to revolution and which would lead directly to socialism and communism."

The party has frequently pointed out that the masses followed the communists not only because of their bravery, their self-denial and their sacrifice, although these had great significance. Above all, the people supported the party because it expressed their most progressive interests and fought to realize their dreams and aspirations. Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the party, from its very first step, worked out a program for the struggle for national liberation and showed itself capable of leading and giving an example in the execution of this program. Without this, the party could not have realized its mission and what happened to some other parties could not have happened: although they were old and traditional, they did not achieve leadership of the people because of the line that they designated and the views which they defended. It is for this reason that the party gained that incontestable authority and, as nowhere else in the history of the international communist movement, it was confirmed in less than a year as the sole leader in the liberation struggle on a nationwide scale.

The party secured this authority by means of a broad manifold connection with the masses, through those ways which have remained in its practice and which have become continually more dominant today. Propaganda and persuasive words by the communists, accompanied with revolutionary action and their example, have yielded unprecedented development. This activity secured a tempering of the party itself in actions conducted together with the masses, strengthened its authority and, on the other hand, created the possibility of seeing in action the most advanced elements for the increase of its ranks--the future resolute militants.

In order to accomplish properly and fully the great task of organizing and leading the struggle, Comrade Enver Hoxha worked unceasingly for the organizational strengthening of the party and for the unity of its ranks. From the very first hours of the party's life, divisive activity, fractious individuals and deviators were encountered, against which he struggled forcefully. These people tried to weaken the unity of the party and to break it in order to take over the party, but it was precisely due to this struggle that its unity was increased and strengthened. Long subsequent experience has also demonstrated that purging the party of opportunist, deviationist and inimical elements has made it stronger and imbued it with invincible unity. It is a great merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha that by means of his high vigilance and his exceptional political sagacity, he uncovered and unmasked in time all those who had betrayed the party and the people and who had wanted to stab them in the back. This struggle has been of vital importance and has been the salvation of the country's freedom and independence, as well as of the fate of the revolution and socialism.

The most important experience of our party since its foundation, as well as the great contribution of Comrade Enver, consists, in the first place and above all, in the content of tasks which the party has assigned itself and which it has designated for resolution. In the process of their resolution, the party and Comrade Enver have shown exceptional organizational ability, creative spirit and revolutionary consciousness.

The original solutions which they gave to many difficult and complicated situations for a range of fundamental problems which arose during the



the struggle for national liberation constitute an experience in the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver treated them and provided arguments for them in his works, while the revolutionary practice of our party has proven them to be imperative and correct solutions. All these embraced a wide sphere which was connected with that great work which was realized in the unification of the people and the creation of the anti-fascist national liberation front, with the organization of the armed insurrection and the partisan forces, with the destruction of the old authority and the building of the new people's power, with the correct treatment of outside allies in the war, with the involvement of the national liberation struggle in the popular revolution, etc.

What happened in our country when the struggle for national liberation merged into a broad popular revolution is a phenomenon which is exceptional and perhaps unique. In his time, Lenin elaborated the thesis that the democratic-bourgeois revolution in the epoch of imperialism can and must be transformed into a proletarian revolution. Comrade Enver developed this idea further and reasoned that the national liberation struggle, led by the Marxist-Leninist party and the working class, can be transformed into a profound popular revolution and this, finally, into a socialist revolution. It was Comrade Enver who, in the position of party leader, head of the Front and commander of the army, put this strategy of the revolution into practice in a full and conscientious manner. From this rich experience the important and very real and valuable Marxist-Leninist conclusion was worked out and verified that the party and the working class must emerge at the head of and lead not only the proletarian revolution and the struggle for socialism, but also the democratic revolution and the struggle for national liberation, viewing this as the basic condition for the linking of these two revolutions and these two struggles in one sole revolutionary process and for the purpose of passing from the one stage to the other.

National and social liberation would be achieved only by means of the armed struggle against the invaders and their tools. The working class would take on this mission. No class except the working class, no other political stratum or group had emerged with a party of its own to take the banner of national liberation in hand. The Albanian Communist Party is the only one that took it in hand and brought this mission to its conclusion. Comrade Enver has refuted the slander of many enemies to the effect that our party allegedly did not permit the creation of other political parties and that it was not willing to cooperate with them in the struggle for liberation. Our party was not against the creation of other parties at that time nor against cooperation with them, because it had sought such cooperation even with political organizations such as Balli Kombetar [The National Front] but outside the struggle against the invader there could be no cooperation. The facts have shown that Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti [Legality] whose representatives had been chosen from the ruling classes, went over openly to the side of the invader and the war overthrew them together with the invader. It was an incalculable benefit for our people and for the fate of the war that other political parties were not created. They would have served only the wealthy classes and the fascist and Nazi invaders, since it is understandable that every party which is created defends the interests of a specific class.

The working class and its party would not permit these parties to share in the leadership, just as they would not permit them to share in the victories of the war.

The whole path of our party has been glorious and heroic since its birth on a tempest wave. It has made many struggles, but it has never known defeat. The reason for this is its correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding and brilliant thought of its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. From the time of the first Resolution, it was emphasized that the Albanian people's struggle for national liberation is a constituent part of the great world antifascist front. But the party fanatically protected the identity of our people's struggle, resolutely preventing attempts to interfere in internal affairs, whether by the Anglo-American allies or by our neighbors. There would have been catastrophic consequences if we had allowed the landing of the Anglo-Americans in our ports and there would also have been equally serious consequences if we had heeded the ultimatum of the allies to forbid the partisan brigades from going to the north of Albania in order to rout the forces of reaction there. There are vitally important instances, such as the rout of various splinter groups, especially the one in Vlore, the unmasking of the Mukaj compromise, etc., which demonstrate the maturity and clear-sightedness of the party and Comrade Enver. Every contrary judgment and action would have given another course to events and would have rendered useless the blood that had been spilled and the sacrifices of the people.

The history of our party is such--militant and magnificent--in the great struggle for the building of socialism as well. This magnificence has merged into the whole line and policy of the party in economy, defense, art and culture; it has merged into the harsh ideological battles with the modern revisionists of various hues in order to defend the banner of ideas of Marxism-Leninism; it has merged into the unprecedented resistance toward the repeated threats and blockades imposed by the imperialist and revisionist encirclement. The great and immortal works of Enver Hoxha are discerned in all these heroic efforts. His works are the banner of battles and victories for the party, the communists and for all the working masses of socialist Albania. "For us, the soldiers of the party," Comrade Enver emphasized in his greetings on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, "there can be no greater pleasure than when we see you, my people, as the master of your fate, glad, happy and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania that has become an invincible fortress with unceasing socialist development. The pleasure and pride tht we feel is the result of great victories which we have achieved, of our continuous efforts and of our everlasting preoccupation with having the party always at our forefront as a proven guide."

The strength of our people, the vitality of socialist Albania, its overall progress and the security of the communist future consist in the strength and vitality of our party, in its correct line and in its intelligent leadership. It is for this profound reason that Comrade Enver Hoxha, throughout his whole life, worked and struggled for the strengthening of the party, for the increase of its leading role, for its continual tempering, for the steeling and unity of its ranks, and for the strengthening of its links with

the people. If both the imperialist interventions and plots and the revisionist treachery which covered the communist movement could be stopped in Albania, this is explained by the fact that our party has been tempered by Comrade Enver Hoxha in many political battles, that it has been educated by him in a lofty revolutionary spirit, that it has been shaped by Marxist-Leninist ideology and by patriotism, internationalism and proletarian fervor.

The measures which have been undertaken in our country at the initiative and under the leadership of Comrade Enver with regard to the further revolutionization of the party and the whole of the country's life were of decisive importance. In this process a range of matters was worked out and thoroughly investigated concerning the struggle against the danger of bureaucracy and liberalism, the strengthening of links with the masses and the application of the line of the masses, the ideological and political tempering of communists and workers, the development of the class struggle and the increase of the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.

All these constitute that great theoretical and practical contribution given by Comrade Enver Hoxha in all other areas, as well as in Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the party. By means of the teachings of Comrade Enver and under his leadership, our party has been made a strong and invincible party, a tempered and mature party, its wisdom, lofty principles and faithfulness to the people, the fatherland and socialism proven in frequent battles, storms and tempests. With such a party, always illuminated by the teachings of Comrade Enver, our people are assured that they will always advance and win new victories which will raise even higher the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

12249

CSO: 2100/35

ALBANIA

AWP CC'S CERRAVA SPEAKS AT TU PLENUM

AU011321 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 1 Jun 85

[Text] Tirana, 1 Jun (ATA)--The Plenum of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania convened in the capital on 31 May, before noon.

Present were outstanding workers and activists of this organisation, representatives of the central mass organizations and central departments and other guests.

Attending was also the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Vangjel Cerrava.

Those present kept two minute silence in token of profound veneration for the unforgettable memory of the glorious deed of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The report "Let Us Increase of the Role of the Trade Unions for the Realisation of the Objectives of the Revolutionary Movement 'Standard Bearers in Implementing the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha'" held by the president of the General Council of the TUA, Sotir Kocollari and the discussions of those present underlined that the working class and all the working masses are responding to the party's appeal to turn the into [as received] strength the grief over the loss of the beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha with a new unprecedented vigour, with drives, pledges, actions and realisations, which were embodied in the revolutionary movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" which is spread and is being put into life by all the collectives of the country. The plenum pointed out the achievements of the working people of industry, agriculture and other sectors, but at the same time it was stressed that the organisations of the trade unions should respond to this new vigour of the working class through a quick and effectious work.

The delegate of the Central Committee of the party Vangjel Cerrava spoke in the plenum too. After evaluating the plenum, he dwelt on the tasks of the trade unions organisation as carriers of the line and trade unions organisation as carriers of the line and directives of the party in the working masses, as an important lever of it to strengthen the ties with the workers, to inspire, organise and mobilize them for the realisation of the tasks in the field of production, defense and science. Speaking of the great importance of

the revolutionary drives of the working class, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava stressed that the putting into practice of the drive "standard bearers of implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" asks for a more militant and new standard and a greater work by the trade unions organisation, for a greater work to encourage and lead it, by creating a new method and style of work and diversified forms, just like Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed during the visits to the District of Vlore. He underlined further the indispensability of the development and further promotion of the study of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha, turning it into a broad ideological movement in the ranks of the working class, on the great role that socialist emulation plays in mobilising the working masses and hurling them in successive actions, etc.

In conclusion Comrade Vangjel Cerrava said that the trade unions should lead the drives, actions and revolutionary vigour of the working class.

CSO: 2020/137

1 July 1985

ALBANIA

## CARCANI, LEADERS ADDRESS RALLIES IN NORTH

AU030815 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 3 Jun 85

["Rallies in the Northern Districts on Occasion of the Liquidation of the Consequences Caused by the Snow Fall--Socialist Solidarity, Profound Humanity, Great Moral and Political Force of the People"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 3 Jun (ATA)--For some days now, the Kukes inhabitants are experiencing the great enthusiasm aroused by the communique of the Council of Ministers on the liquidation of the consequences caused by the snow fall of January-February this year.

To share the joy of the people of Kukes District there came also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani.

A grand popular rally was organised in the main square of the city. Present were working people of work and production centers, cooperative members, volunteers, veterans and militarymen, young men and women and invitees from some other districts.

Amidst the enthusiasm of the present, Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor. He brought to the people of Kukes District the greetings and congratulations of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and of the first Secretary of the Central committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

In those difficult and painful moments, as always, on the instruction of the Central Committee and of our very beloved and immortal leader Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, Comrade Adil Carcani said among others, the party, the people's power were close to the people of the zones affected by the snow to help them to overcome the grave consequences of the fierce winter and to alleviate the pains of the families who lost their most beloved people. Inspired by the word of the party and the paternal instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the entire Albania, as a single body rose on feet and manifested its magnificent socialist solidarity and strength educated in our people by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In this way, first of all, through the heroic self-sacrificing work of the people of Kukes District and other northern districts affected by the heavy

snow, as well as through the aid of all the country, life was normalised soon and in no more than three months the grave consequences of this great and shocking calamity were completely liquidated. This proves once again of the boundless strength of our wonderful people, of the party that leads them and their people's power.

But, comrades, a long time elapsed from this tremendous natural calamity, when the party, our people our socialist homeland bore another greater calamity, an undescrivable grief. On 11 April this year, the most beloved man of the hearts of all the people, the respected and unforgettable leader of our party and state, the architect of all the victories of the war and socialist construction as well, Comrade Enver Hoxha departed from us. The loss of Comrade Enver was an earthquake above all earthquakes that hurt the hearts of the old and young in Albania, the hearts of our Albanian brothers wherever they live.

After pointing out that the people of Kukes District, just like our whole people turned the great sorrow over the loss of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha into unprecedented revolutionary mobilisation and vigour, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that this is an expression of that monolithic and unbreakable party people unity, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

The successful liquidation of the consequences of that bitter winter of this year within a short period of time, he said further on, shows at the same time of the socialist solidarity, profound humanity and the great moral and political force of our people.

The successful conclusion, within a short period of time and with our own forces of the undertaking for the elimination of the aftermath of the heavy snow fall speaks also of the vitality of our socialist economy.

The 8th Five-Year Plan which is being worked out by the party in compliance with the ideas and teachings of Comrade Enver, with the active participation of the masses, will lead forward the general development of economy and culture in our country, will elevate the standard of living of the working masses and will further strengthen the defence potential of our socialist homeland.

Today's rally, Comrade Adil Carcani continued, coincides with the 15th anniversary of the visit of glorious leader of the party and people, our great teacher and educator Comrade Enver Hoxha, to your district. Outwardly it seems a coincidence, but this event, just as any other event in socialist Albania, is organically linked with the name and deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Even today's inauguration has its foundations in the teachings and direct care of Comrade Enver Hoxha, just as the setting up of the new town of Kukes. Party, people, government will always pursue in steel unity and unwaveringly, the road of Enver. The enemies' illusions will as always be smashed to smithereens.

After speaking of some problems of the present international situation, of the policy of our party and socialist state which has been and remains unchanged, just as it has been clearly elaborated and defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 8th Congress of the party, which forcefully condemns to the end the

aggressive and hegemonistic policy of the superpowers and which backs up the just struggle of the peace loving and freedom-loving peoples against them, etc, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed:

We always attached special care to relations with the neighbouring states and have worked and will continue to work so that they develop on the basis of good neighbourliness, as it was defined at the 8th Congress of the party by Comrade Enver Hoxha. We have applied this policy with Yugoslavia too, convinced that this is not only in the interest of our peoples, but it also serves the interests of peace in our region. It is clearly understood that the establishment of good neighbourliness between the two countries, requires that the Yugoslav leadership be realistic in its stands towards Albania, and towards the Albanians in Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia and give up violence and national oppression. We abide by the stand clearly expressed by Comrade Ramiz Alia on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland that "irrespective of the fact that there are irreconcilable ideological and political contradictions between Albania and Yugoslavia, we think that ways could be found for the normalization of the relations between the two countries."

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his confidence that the working masses of the District of Kukes just as those of the entire country will further elevate their drive and mobilisation, the spirit of action to successfully realise the tasks of the plan in all the fields, to carry into reality the objectives of the revolutionary movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha."

The speech of Comrade Adil Carcani was received with applause and acclamations "Party-Enver we are always ready."

A message was sent from the rally to the Central Committee of the party and the Council of Ministers.

After the meeting, Comrade Adil Carcani met and held a warm talk with volunteers from different districts who worked to liquidate the aftermath of the heavy snow fall, members of the families affected by this natural calamity, veterans, etc.

#### Nothing Impairs Our Military Unity

Hundreds of Diber inhabitants from Lura and Kalaja e Dodes, from Bulqiza and Zall Dardha came to Peshkopia Town yesterday to celebrate the successful liquidation of the consequences caused by the snow falls.

A rally was organised in the square of "Nazmi Rushiti" secondary school. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of Home Affairs, Hekuran Isai, the member of the Central Committee of the party Jashar Menzelxhiu, etc.

Amidst the applause of those present, Comrade Hekuran Isai took the floor.



I came among you, he said, in the name of the Central Committee of the party and of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, to celebrate together with you the completion of the liquidation of the aftermath of the heavy snow fall. At a very short time you responded with an unprecedented mobilization to the decision taken directly on the instruction of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, who said: "Let us work as in the time of the earthquake and everything went on as he said."

Many houses are ruined by the snow in the world, but no one takes care of them, many earthquakes are recorded there and many people remain shelterless, but no body takes care of the homeless. Whereas in our country if 10 houses are ruined, thousands of families rise on foot to build them anew. Houses in the north are ruined by the snow, the south comes to help them. In the south there is an earthquake, the north goes to build the houses. The new houses, the beautiful houses as Dibra itself, the houses of our unity have not been constructed only with mortar and bricks. They are built with a material that is found in Albania only. This is our militant unity which is shattered neither by the great snow, nor by the 9-point quake, a great and continuous work has been done long ago for this unity.

The party-people unity was expressed more than any time at the moment of the utmost grief. Comrade Enver Hoxha passed away and this was the greatest earthquake, but the whole people who are immortal, just like the ideas of Comrade Enver are rose on foot and said to the party: "The pain is great, but you, my party, must not be discouraged. Enver left you strong, in unity, he left us closely linked with each other, therefore lead us."

Our working masses, Comrade Hekuran Isai continued further on, have backed up the revolutionary drive "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha." To be standard bearers of the teachings of Comrade Enver is a great title, an extraordinary honour. This will always be a drive that will last for ever, because our development, in the future too will be based only on the teachings of Comrade Enver.

Speaking on the patriotic traditions of the Diber people, he said that the party and Comrade Enver made Diber a mountain, closely united like all Albania, all our people. The Diber inhabitant is distinguished not only for loyalty and bravery, but also as a good worker. Through his work he has seen that the life has flourished, therefore he has protected it self-denyingly. Diber has 15 heroes of socialist labour who have been awarded this title over the construction of socialism.

The Diber people, Comrade Hekuran Isai said in conclusion, like in the war, today in the construction of socialism as well have justified and are justifying with blood and sweat the faith that the party has and the loyalty to the immortal last will of Enver Hoxha.

A message was sent from the rally to the Central Committee of the party and the Council of Ministers.

On 6 June, Comrade Hekuran Isai met with the people in Melan. He went also to Kastriot, where he met with inhabitants and cut the ribbon of inauguration of the new stables built during this action.

#### With Lofty Revolutionary Spirit

Hundreds of working people of economic enterprises, miners and metallurgists, cooperativists and militarymen, young men and women gathered in the center of Rreshen City where a grand popular rally was organised on occasion of the liquidation of the aftermath of the heavy snow falls.

Attending the rally were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Besnik Bekteshi and others.

Amidst the applause of those present, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi took the floor. After greeting those present in the name of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, he said among others: We are gathered in this rally to celebrate with a legitimate pride the successful completion ahead of schedule the great political action for the liquidation of the consequences caused by the snow falls in the northern zones and in the district of Mirdita. The people of Mirdita District along with the workers realise the planned tasks in all the sectors of the economy, culture and defence, sparing nothing and with a lofty revolutionary spirit, with a steel proletarian discipline, worked untiringly to liquidate completely the consequences caused by the great snow fall.

Under the direct care of Comrade Enver Hoxha and on the instruction of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers adopted immediate all-sided measures to overcome and stabilize the situation as soon as possible. Immediately many drives were undertaken by the working collectives of the city and countryside in all the districts.

In this readiness and mobilisation there came to the fore once more the magnificent socialist solidarity that the party has imbued in our people, that militant unity of the people around the party, which [word indistinct] the unbreakable force of our socialist order.

At a time when we were mobilised with all our forces to liquidate the aftermath caused by the snow falls in the districts of the north, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi went further on, our party and people suffered another immeasurable loss, socialist Albania lost the most beloved and the dearest son, its glorious leader Comrade Enver Hoxha. A brilliant example of the loyalty to the party and deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha in these days of profound grief also set the people of the District of Mirdita, of whom Comrade Enver Hoxha had a great love and respect, because they are a patriotic, brave, loyal and hospitable people and above all they have much zeal for work and knowledge.

Then he spoke of the achievements of Mirdita District in the years of the party.

In conclusion Comrade Besnik Bektashi stressed it is 1985, the last year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the starting point of the Eighty 5-Year Plan. So it must be a year of the great political, economic, cultural and scientific action because from this point on, the pickets for the coming five years are fixed.

A message was sent from the rally to the Central Committee of the party.

CSO: 2020/137

ALBANIA

CARCANI TOURS TEPELENE DISTRICT

AU211146 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 21 May 85

["Comrade Adil Carcani Meets With Cooperativists and Workers of Tepelene District"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 21 May (ATA)--The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani went to the agricultural cooperative "Selam Musai" of Dukaj, Tepelene District, on 20 May. He was accompanied by the chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, Comrade Shefqet Peci as well as by leading cadres of the party and power organs in the district. Comrade Adil Carcani meets with and cordially greets the inhabitants of this zone.

At the meeting held here, leading cadres of the party and state power in the district informed Comrade Adil Carcani of the extraordinary mobilization of the working people of agriculture and industry of this district to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the plan.

Comrade Adil Carcani brought to those present the greetings of the Central Committee of the party, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the party Ramiz Alia Personally.

The peasants of Dukaj, Sinanaj, the whole region, he said among other things, linked since the very beginning with the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and during these four decades of the construction of socialism have further steeled the unity of the people around the party. Their unity is being powerfully expressed these days too, when all the people, turning the grief over the loss of the respected leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha, into strength, are mobilized and are attaining high results, in agriculture, livestock, in the preparation for the defence of the homeland and everywhere. After speaking of the deep going social and economic transformations that have taken place in this zone, Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the cooperativists for the good achievements particularly in stockraising.

In the afternoon, Comrade Adil Carcani went to the fourth sector of the mine of Memaliaj, in Luftinje, where he met with miners, cooperativists of Mericaj, Gjuz, Izvor, Zhapokika, with young boys and girls. At the meeting held here the director of the mine informed Comrade Adil Carcani of the great mobilization of the miners, who overfulfilled the tasks of 4 months with 6 thousand

tons of coal, thus reaching ahead of schedule the target set for the first half of the year.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Adil Carcani greeted the miners and cooperativists and congratulated them for the successes attained in their fronts of work. He stressed the correct, far-sighted and persistent policy of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the development of the industry of energetics, the increase of the growth of coals and their upgrading, their special care to constantly improve the working and living conditions of the miners and instructed that miners and cooperativists, side by side each other, raise higher the mobilization to fulfill the tasks front rally to exploit more the great natural assets, to increase the afforested area, particularly near the sectors of this mine. In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his conviction that our working class and the cooperativist peasantry, in steel unity around the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will always carry forward the brilliant and glorious deed of our respected leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Adil Carcani was seen off with love by the inhabitants of this zone.

CSO: 2020/137

1 July 1985

ALBANIA

STEFANI ADDRESSES YOUTH UNION CC PLENUM

AU231131 Tirana ATA in English 0230 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Tirana, 23 May (ATA)--The Plenum of the Central Committee of the LYUA [Union of Working Youth of Albania] convened in the capital on 22 May.

Present were first secretaries of the youth organisation, representatives of the central mass organisations and some departments, etc.

Attending was also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Simon Stefani.

In token of profound veneration for the memory and glorious deeds of our great leader and teacher Comrade Enver Hoxha, those present kept two minutes silence.

The report "Through a Vigorous Work the Entire Youth Should Be Standard Bearer in Implementing the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" held by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA Mehmet Elezi and militant spirit of the younger generation and the firm determination and loyalty of our youth, who turning the profound grief over the loss of the beloved leader and teacher Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength, will march always forward unwaveringly on the road of the party. The objectives of the movement are being put into life successfully because all the youth is engaged in it, the Plenum stressed.

The Plenum underlined that the youth considers the realisation of the objectives in industry and agriculture, in the field of education and defence, in close relation with the successful realisation of two important national undertakings, the opening of pools for livestock to drink in them, the improvement of pastures all over the country and the construction of irrigation canals for the reservoir of helms in Kolonja.

Comrade Simon Stefani spoke at the Plenum too. He pointed out among others the high political maturity and conscience of our youth who tightening its ranks round the party are voicing their readiness to march resolutely on the road of Enver Hoxha, his guiding teachings. He evaluated the proceedings of the Plenum and the movement to be standard bearers in the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which is widely embraced by the youth, speaking of the militant spirit to study and assimilate the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Simon Stefani stressed that it should be

carried forward turning it into a great ideological movement to inspire our entire youth to take part actively in the struggle to implement the tasks laid in all the fields. Then he pointed out the great role of the youth as a prominent fighter for the revolutionary new.

After speaking of some problems of organisational nature and on the international situation, in conclusion Comrade Simon Stefani expressed his conviction that our youth will increase its vigour, mobilisation and readiness and as always will work with enthusiasm and optimism on all the fronts of the socialist construction, will learn with passion in school and life, will master the science and technique to be always the right hand of the party, fighter of the front line in defence of the homeland led always by the line of our party and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The speech of Comrade Simon Stefani was listened to with attention and was received with applause by those present.

CSO: 2020/137

ALBANIA

RADIO-TV STAFF AWARDED MEDALS, ORDERS BY CAMI

AU251251 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Tirana, 25 May (ATA)--The ceremony of awarding orders and medals to a group of working people and leaders of the RTV conferred by the Presidium of the People's Assembly was organised in one of the halls of the Radio-Television [work omitted] in the capital on 24 May.

Present were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the district party committee Foto Cami, the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami, the chief of the sector of the press at the apparatus of the Central Committee of the party, Dhimiter Tona, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT Arshin Xhezo, etc.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, those present were greeted by Comrade Foto Cami.

He congratulated the collective of RTV for their great and devoted work in the field of the propaganda of the party, leaving marked traces on the great front of the socialist and revolutionary education of the masses and stressed that the RTV as an organ in the forefront of the propaganda of the party has reflected and reflects with veracity and objectivity the life and great work of our working masses to realise the tasks in all the fields. Comrade Foto Cami pointed out further on that the working people of radio-television, turing their profound grief over the utmost loss of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength, with their work, full of profound love and respect, through microphone and screen, presented with all its magnificence the figure of Comrade Enver Hoxha as leader and commander, as unbent fighter against imperialism and revisionism, and ardent patriot and internationalist dear to the proletarian hearts far and wide in the world. For all these, Comrade Foto Cami said, the party, the Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, all the people, thank you for all you did.

On behalf of the people that were decorated, the General Director of RTV Marash Hajati, after thanking for this great honour made to all the collective, said that in the future too, the working people of RTV will be in the front line of the propaganda of the party and will reflect the drive, optimism and work of the working masses to build socialism. A message was sent from the meeting to the first secretary of the CC of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

CSO: 2020/137



1 July 1985

## ALBANIA

## ATA REPORTS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS STATEMENT ON OVERCOMING SNOW DAMAGE

LD010949 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 31 May 85

["Communique of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic on the Liquidation of the Aftermath of the Heavy Snow Fall in January-February 1985 in the Districts of the North"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 31 May (ATA)--The Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania joyfully reports that the grave aftermath caused by the heavy snow fall in January-February this year, in the districts of the north were fully liquidated ahead of schedule. This is another great victory testimony to the special and constant care taken by our party, state and society for man, which shows of the strength of the socialist order, the stability of the people's economy.

The damages caused by the heavy snow fall of this year were great, but on the instruction and care of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, all the measures to assist the damaged population were taken immediately.

In order to liquidate the aftermath, the whole Albanian, old and young, the working class, cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth, the army, the whole people rose on foot. In this readiness and lofty mobilization there was once again reflected the wonderful socialist solidarity, tempered by the party in our men, that militant unity of the people around the party, in which lies the unbreakable strength of our socialist order.

The work to liquidate the aftermath of the heavy snow fall coincided with the profound national grief caused by the death of the glorious leader of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, but the people of the damaged areas, together with the volunteers from all the districts, of the country, turning this great grief into strength worked day and night, with heroism and lofty revolutionary spirit. For 3 months on end a great volume of work was done, 1,604 dwelling flats, different economic objects, school kindergartens, creches houses of culture, health centers, etc., were built and repaired. The electric and telephone network and the aquaduct of the villages of the damaged zones were rebuilt. The general value of all this great [work] is calculated to about 24 million leks.

In order to replace the cattle damaged by the heavy snow fall, all the necessary measures have been taken so that the cattle the agricultural economies of the other districts voluntarily put at the disposal of the districts of the north be dispatched and arrive here. Likewise, out of the funds given by the working people 8.3 million leks were put at the disposal to defray the expenditure of the agricultural economies to pay the value of the work-day for all those who worked to liquidate the consequences, 8.9 million leks for the economic-financial strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives that were damaged more economically, 2.4 million leks to increase the fund of investments and 1.2 million leks to increase or create the reserve fund of the pay of the agricultural cooperative, etc.

During this period, the working people of the damaged districts, just as all the working people of our country, worked with lofty mobilization to realize the other tasks of the state plan too.

The Council of Ministers congratulates the population of the zones damaged by the heavy snow fall of this winter, who overcame the difficulties created with work and lofty revolutionary spirit, it hails the volunteers of all the districts and all those who took part and worked tirelessly in this great understanding, it congratulates the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people for the numerous initiatives and the valuable aid they gave.

The liquidation of the aftermath of the heavy snow fall of this year showed what kinds of great energies and inexhaustible possibilities exist in the fold of our people and economy. Let us use these possibilities and the experience accumulated in this colossal work in the interest of our socialist economy and homeland, with mobilization and organisation at work, with a lofty feeling of responsibility, let us work untiringly to implement the tasks set by the party to realise the plan of 1985, to make our beloved homeland stronger and prosperous, the life of the people happier.

The Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Tirana, 30 May 1985.

CSO: 2020/137

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

PRK'S HENG SAMRIN RECEIVES THANKS--Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, has recently sent a message of thanks to Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the PRK, for congratulating the former on his appointment as first secretary of the AWP Central Committee. The message stresses: I express profound thanks to you for the congratulations you sent me on my appointment as first secretary of the AWP Central Committee. I take this opportunity to reaffirm friendship and solidarity between our two countries and peoples and to express best wishes for the successes of the Cambodian people. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 29 May 85 BK]

CSO: 2020/137

HUNGARY

## SOCIALIST BASIS OF HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC SUCCESSES STRESSED

AU190501 Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 85 (signed to press 28 Mar 85) pp 79-92

[Article by V. L. Musatov: "Hungary: Along the Path of Socialism and Peace"]

[Text] On 4 April 1945 the Soviet Army, which had completed its defeat of the troops of Hitlerite Germany and their Hungarian minions, liberated Hungarian territory. This event has rightly become the biggest national holiday of the Hungarian people, signifying a great turning point in their thousand-year history. The dawn of a new life rose over the country and before the working people there opened up a path of social liberation, radical socioeconomic change, and the formation of a genuinely free, independent, and democratic Hungary. Under the leadership of the communists and with the participation of all of the nation's progressive forces a broad popular-democratic revolution was carried out in Hungary, which later developed into a socialist revolution. The stage of building a new life began.

During the 40 years that have passed since the country's liberation from fascism, under the leadership of the MSZMP, the successor and continuer of the glorious internationalist traditions of the first Hungarian communists, the working people of the republic have achieved historic success. Overcoming the opposition of the internal class enemy and repelling the attacks of imperialist forces, the Hungarian workers class and peasantry, led by their revolutionary vanguard and supported by the USSR and fraternal socialist countries, laid the foundations of socialism in their country in a short historical space of time and are now successfully conducting work to develop socialism further.

The successes of the Hungarian people in the building of a new society are impressive and gladden all supporters of socialism throughout the world. Since 1950 to the present day the national income of the Hungarian People's Republic has increased more than 5 times, the volume of its industrial production--almost 15 times, and the volume of its agricultural production--more than 2 times. The Hungarian People's Republic is an equal member of the socialist community and actively participates in the activities of the Warsaw Pact Organization and CEMA. By following a peace-loving foreign

policy course in the international arena--a course jointly developed and coordinated with its allies, the fraternal socialist countries--Hungary makes a considerable contribution to the struggle of the socialist countries for improvement in the international situation, against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and for disarmament and peace.

The 40 years since Hungary's liberation have been a period of consolidating and deepening relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which has historical traditions, has now become a powerful factor in joint progress and the vital cause of millions. Communists and all the working people in Hungary are preparing for the day of liberation from fascism in an atmosphere of political and labor enthusiasm, armed with the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress.

The battle between the Red Army and the fascists on Hungarian territory lasted 6 months and was distinguished by particular bitterness. Hitler had given orders to hold on to positions in Hungary at all costs, especially around Budapest, in order to close the Soviet troops' approaches to Austria and southern Germany, where a significant part of the Reich's military industry was concentrated and the so-called Alpine Redoubt had been built. In addition to this, with its oil deposits and grain resources, Hungary was the last source of supply for the Hitlerites. The fulfillment of these plans was assisted by the Hungarian fascists-Nyilas party members, who were direct proteges of Berlin and had been brought to power by the Germans during the coup on 15 October 1944.

Horthy's reactionary regime, which took control of Hungary after the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 and drew the Hungarian people into an anti-Soviet war, proved incapable of breaking with fascist Germany and crossing over to the side of the anti-Hitler coalition. Primarily concerned with his own interests and attempting to save the bourgeois-landowning system, Horthy's main hope was for the arrival of Anglo-American troops in Hungary. He rejected the proposals of communists, social-democrats, and other patriotic forces to prepare to break with the fascist bloc and to arm the workers. Having begun negotiations with the Soviet Union, under pressure of the real situation, the Horthy powers conducted these negotiations dishonestly and failed to fulfill the conditions of the Soviet command. Horthy's attempt to leave the war turned into a pitiful farce.

In these conditions, the only political force in Hungary which rallied the antifascists and fighters for the country's liberation was the Communist Party. It urged the people to struggle for an independent, democratic Hungary and to organize armed resistance and the overthrow of the fascist regime. But the armed struggle of the Hungarian patriots did not develop on a broad scale because of brutal terror, unbridled chauvinistic propaganda, and the difficult conditions of their illegal position.

Despite this, there existed in Hungary, "albeit on a small scale, armed resistance to the German occupiers and the Nyilas puppet regime. A total of more than 7,000 participated in partisan detachments in Hungary, in armed

groups of the resistance movement, in the Budai volunteer regiment, and in smaller Hungarian subunits which had gone over to the side of the Soviet Army and turned their weapons against the fascists. Many thousands of Hungarian fighters participated in the liberation struggle of other peoples. Hundreds of Hungarian communists who had emigrated to the Soviet Union fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army..."<sup>1</sup>

On 23 September 1944 Soviet troops occupied the first inhabited locality in Hungary--the village of Battonya, and then the town of Mako. Troops from the 2d and 3d Ukraine fronts and the Danube flotilla participated in the liberation battles. Units from the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, and Romanian armies fought with them. In the course of the long and cruel battles the Soviet Army troops broke the resistance of the German fascist cutthroats and their Hungarian minions. The Debrecen operation, the battles for Budapest, where a large group of Hitlerite troops was blockaded, and the battle in the region of Lake Balaton entered the history of the Great Patriotic War as unforgettable pages. Fulfilling their international duty, the Soviet soldiers demonstrated mass heroism and steadfastness.

When entering Hungarian territory the Soviet troops had the aim of helping to free the Hungarian people from the enslavers and rendering assistance in the restoration of their national independence and sovereignty. An address by the Military Council of the 2d Ukraine Front to the country's population in October 1944 stated that the Soviet Army had crossed the Hungarian border not with the aim of territorial acquisition, but by force of military necessity, "not as a conqueror, but as the Hungarian people's liberator from the German fascist yoke."<sup>2</sup>

By 4 April 1945 the whole of Hungary's territory was free. On this day, said J. Kadar, "a new page began in the history of the Hungarian people; our people once again won national independence and the possibilities of development and social liberation opened up before them. For our people, liberation is synonymous to their finding their motherland for the second time, and 4 April has rightly become their greatest national holiday."<sup>3</sup>

The new, democratic state and its organs began to take shape in the liberated areas of Hungary. The cohesion of all of the nation's antifascist forces was one of the most important conditions of the victory over reaction and of democratic development. A program of national rebirth was necessary. The communists were the only political party able to draw up such a program. At the initiative of the Communist Party and with the participation of the Social Democratic Party, the National Peasants Party, and the Smallholders Party, the Hungarian National Independence Front was formed in December 1944 in the city of Szeged, which adopted the program proposed by the communists for struggling against fascism and for national development, democratizing the country, implementing land reform, and nationalizing mineral resources, mines, and electric power plants. The next step was to convene the Provisional National Assembly in Debrecen, which approved the membership of the Provisional National Government.

The members of the government were politically heterogeneous, reflecting the current correlation of class forces. It was headed by Colonel-General B. Miklos. As in other East European countries, the existence of a coalition government in Hungary was a characteristic feature of the first stage in the people's democratic revolution. A message from the new Hungarian Government to the USSR Government in December 1944 stated that it had broken with the fascist bloc and was ready to conclude a truce with the Soviet Union and the other states in the anti-Hitler coalition and to declare war on Hitler's Germany.<sup>4</sup>

Supported by the workers class, the Hungarian Communist Party developed work to organize normal life in the country. An important role in democratizing Hungary was played by the national committees set up in the field and by the plant committees in the enterprises, which were led by communists. The land reform carried out in spring 1945 was an undertaking of historic significance. It destroyed the last remnants of feudal relations. A total of 650,000 peasants were given land. Lands were confiscated from fascists, war criminals, and landowners with more than 100 kholds (1 khold is equivalent to 0.57 hectares). The agrarian reform was carried out by the peasantry in a revolutionary way, with the support of the workers class headed by the Communist Party, despite opposition by right-wing forces incorporated in the government. As a result of the reform the social structure of the village was changed and the landowning class liquidated. Implementation of the land reform strengthened the alliance of the workers class and the peasantry, and increased the authority of the communists.

The Communist Party channelled its efforts into ensuring unity of action among all of the nation's progressive forces interested in popular-democratic changes, and primarily into expanding cooperation between the two parties of the workers class--the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. An agreement on the unity of their actions was signed in October 1944.

One of the chief issues in the country's revival was that of restoring the economy. The agrarian reform stimulated agricultural production. The factory committees organized production and maintained order. An important step in the direction of socialist transformation was that of introducing general worker control over production and the commercial activities of factories and plants. Mobilizing all democratic forces to restore the economy, communists emphasized at their first legal all-Hungarian conference in May 1945 that it was possible to fulfill this task by relying on internal sources and assistance from the USSR. By that time, approximately 150,000 members filled the ranks of the Hungarian Communist Party. The restoration of transport and the "battle for coal" were developed at communist initiative.

Implementing the program of democratic changes, purging and democratizing the state apparatus, forming a new police force and army, calling war criminals and traitors to account, and developing a foreign policy program took place in the conditions of acute class struggle. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties tried to preserve the capitalist system in Hungary

and institutions of the bourgeois state, and to defend private property as far as possible. Their influence was still considerable. At the parliamentary elections held in November 1945 the Smallholders Party received 57 percent of the votes, the Communists and Social Democrats--17 percent each, and the National Peasants Party--7 percent.

On 1 February 1946 Hungary was declared a republic. Grouping themselves around the Smallholders Party, particularly around its reactionary wing, and influencing rightwing reformist forces in the Social Democratic Party and rightwing forces in the National Peasants Party, reactionaries tried to stand in the way of social changes in Hungarian life and to wreck revolutionary processes.

A left-wing bloc of representatives of the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the National Peasants Party, and also of the All-Hungarian Council of Trade Unions was formed in March 1946 at communist initiative. It worked to continue the popular-democratic changes and to defend the land reform. These demands were also supported by the democratic wing of the Smallholders Party. The National Assembly approved a draft law on the nationalization of mines and five of the largest metallurgical and machine construction enterprises were placed under state control. One of the most serious political issues of the period was the problem of struggling against inflation and stabilizing finance. Financial reform and the introduction of a new monetary unit--the forint--in August 1946 was an important component part of the plan worked out by the Communist Party to stabilize the economy.

But the situation in the national economy was serious and the total volume of industrial production in 1946 was only 60 percent of the 1938 level. The serious difficulties caused by the war and also capitalist sabotage had their effect. It was impossible to stop halfway. The Communist Party began drawing up a 3-year plan for the country's development, which was approved at the Third Hungarian Communist Party Congress (28 September-1 October 1946). (The first Hungarian Communist Party Congress was held under illegal conditions in Vienna in 1925, and the second was held in 1928 in Aprelevka near Moscow.) A course was proclaimed at this congress to further consolidate the popular-democratic system and to peacefully develop the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. "Only a people's democracy will make it possible for the country to develop along the path toward socialism without civil war," it was emphasized in the materials of the congress.<sup>5</sup> Contemporary bourgeois propaganda continues to allege that socialism was supposedly brought to the countries of Eastern Europe "on the bayonets" of Soviet troops. In response to this false thesis one can say that the Soviet Army indeed brought many peoples of Europe liberation from fascist enslavement and eliminated the possibility of the struggle of the popular masses for national and social liberation being bloodily suppressed, as well as the possibility of imperialist intervention. But the Soviet troops did not interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. In each of these countries there existed different objective and subjective prerequisites for socialist revolution and establishment of a socialist system, which were the result of a broad, internal revolutionary process.



As the general democratic revolution crossed over to a socialist path, the opposition on the part of reactionary forces, clericals, the right wing of the Smallholders Party, and certain petty bourgeois elements increased. The demarcation of political forces also increased. Supported by imperialists, rightwing leaders of the Smallholders Party embarked on active counterrevolutionary actions. The defeat of a reactionary plot and the exposure of reactionary antinational plans at the end of 1946 and beginning of 1947 led to a strengthening of leftwing forces in the Smallholders Party. The leader of the left wing of the Smallholders Party, I. Dobi (subsequently a member of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic), became chairman of this party, and, instead of F. Nagy who had fled to the West, L. Denes was elected prime minister.

At the new parliamentary elections in August of the same year the bloc of democratic parties gained a firm majority--61 percent. More than 22 percent of the voters voted for the communists, and so they became the strongest party in parliament. The Communist Party won five seats in the government, the Smallholders Party and the Social Democratic Party--four each, and the National Peasants Party--two. The elections consolidated the positions of revolutionary forces. The new government worked out a 3-year plan which came into effect from 1 August 1947. A law was soon passed on the nationalization of the major banks, and in March 1948 industrial enterprises with more than 100 workers in their employ were also nationalized. Thus the economic power of the large bourgeoisie was liquidated. A total of 85 percent of industrial enterprises and mines became state property. The socialist sector gained key positions in the economy.

At the end of 1947 and beginning of 1948 reactionary elements were removed from the parties incorporated in the National Independence Front and anti-national, reactionary parties and associations were dissolved. At the same time the process of restoring the unity of the workers movement and uniting Communists and Social Democrats on the principles of Marxism-Leninism was in motion.

In practical terms, joint actions began at a low level and later reached intermediate level. In July 1948 a unified party of the workers class--the Hungarian Workers Party--was formed at a unification congress. The split in the workers movement was thus liquidated. The unification was the political conclusion of the process of the general democratic revolution developing into a socialist revolution. Under the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party the Hungarian people began building the foundations of socialism. The year 1948 went down in the history of Hungary as a "crucial year."

On 15 February 1948 the first Soviet-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was signed, which served as a firm guarantee of Hungary's national independence and security. The Soviet Union was the first power to recognize Hungary as an equal partner and to offer it a hand of assistance. USSR foreign policy prevented direct interference by imperialist forces in the processes of revolutionary change in the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the second half of 1948 and during 1949 major political and socioeconomic changes of a socialist nature were carried out in Hungary: Industrial and transport enterprises employing more than 10 people were nationalized, the socialist sector became the predominant sector in industry, wholesale trade, and finance, and production cooperatives began to be formed in rural areas. As a result of parliamentary elections in 1949 the exploitative classes were no longer represented in the supreme organ of power.

In August 1949 the State Assembly proclaimed Hungary a people's republic and adopted the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic which stated that "all power belongs to the working people" in the country, and the task of building socialism was set. By the end of 1949 the 3-year national economy plan had been fulfilled ahead of time--in the space of 2 and a half years. Industrial production exceeded the 1938 level by 28 percent and agriculture reached prewar level. Fulfillment of the first 5-year plan began in the Hungarian People's Republic in January 1950. During the 1950-1954 period the national income increased 1.5 times and industrial production doubled. A system of organs of people's power--soviets--was formed throughout the country. The cultural revolution developed.

At the same time the development of the Hungarian People's Republic in this period was affected by errors on the part of the party leadership, these errors being connected with a sectarian-dogmatic approach, subjectivism, and a personality cult. Influenced by initial success, a course was adopted to industrialize the country at a forced pace and the Leninist principles of organizing the peasantry into cooperatives were violated. Excessively high plan tasks and the slogan of economic autarchy led to disproportions in the national economy and to a drop in living standards.

All this took place in an atmosphere of exacerbated relations between the two world systems, and "cold war" stepped up by imperialism, and the U.S. administration's proclaimed doctrines of "liberating" the socialist countries and "rolling back communism."

Healthy forces in the party attempted to rectify the situation and to introduce necessary amendments to the work of the Hungarian Workers Party and the activities of its leadership. The measures adopted at the Central Committee plenums in March and July 1956 in particular, and also positive changes in the makeup of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers Party made it possible as a whole to halt the negative development of events, although implementation of these measures was inconsistent and the situation was one of intensified struggle of the sectarian-dogmatic wing and rightwing revisionists, which weakened the party's unity and capacity for action. Making use of the errors permitted by the Hungarian Workers Party and the perfidy of revisionists, internal and international reaction went onto the offensive. A crisis situation had formed by autumn 1956. As analysis subsequently conducted by the MSZMP shows, the simultaneous effect of these factors was the cause of the counterrevolutionary revolt that flared up in October.<sup>6</sup>

In the conditions of the political crisis in autumn 1956 the fate of socialism in Hungary was under threat and the achievements of the socialist

revolution had to be defended. The MSZMP Central Committee headed by J. Kadar, a loyal son of the Hungarian people, a prominent figure in the Hungarian revolutionary workers and international communist movement, and a true communist-internationalist, became the new revolutionary party center. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed which, on 4 November 1956, appealed to the people to defend the achievements of socialism. In response to a request by the new government the USSR assisted in defeating the armed bands of counterrevolution.

The MSZMP made persistent efforts to restore law and order and to rally and consolidate party ranks. The All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference in June 1957 was the final stage in the reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist party. Hungarian communists concentrated their attention on winning the support of the broad masses of the population and ensuring their participation in work to continue socialist construction.

A significant role in strengthening the political and economic situation was played by assistance given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also by the support of the progressive community throughout the world. The Seventh MSZMP Congress (November-December 1959) drew important conclusions from the lessons of the struggle against counterrevolution and determined future party tasks in the building of socialism in Hungary. The congress set the aim of "completing the construction of the foundations of socialist society."<sup>7</sup> Directives for the second 5-year plan for the development of the Hungarian national economy in 1961-1965 were also worked out at the congress.

During the 1957-1962 period historic changes took place in Hungarian rural areas. By the end of 1961 a total of 96 percent of all arable land belonged to the socialist sector--state and cooperative farms. This meant that socialist production relations had triumphed not only in the cities, but also in the countryside. The socialist transformation of agriculture occupies an important place in the history of Hungary. Fulfillment of this task signified a new stage in the development of socialist construction.

Hungary's experience in the socialist restructuring of agriculture is of interest to many countries resolving this task. The MSZMP's correct political aims in the spirit of the Leninist cooperative plan were combined with a number of practical economic measures which took into account the country's specific national conditions. In the course of organizing cooperatives in the villages the MSZMP Central Committee rejected the views of those who underestimated the comprehensive effect of the political, economic, and organizational measures.

An important element in the MSZMP's experience in the socialist reorganization of agriculture is that of successfully resolving the so-called "dual task" of simultaneously forming agricultural production cooperatives and achieving growth in the volume of their production. The mass transition by individual peasant-farmers to the path of a collectively run economy and the party's agrarian policy made it possible to form large socialist enterprises in Hungarian agriculture, increase the land's crop capacity and livestock productivity, and intensify production.

In the second half of the fifties and beginning of the sixties the Hungarian economy continued to develop at a high rate. In 1962 the socialist sector accounted for 96 percent of the national income. During the 1956-1960 period the rates of industrial production averaged 7.5 percent, progressive branches--machine construction and the chemical industry--developed especially rapidly, and new enterprises were built. The number of workers in industry increased and the qualitative makeup of the workers class improved.

Foreign trade relations expanded, primarily with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member-countries. Together with its Warsaw Pact allies, Hungary has struggled for peace and detente and against the threat of nuclear war.

Important changes took place in the social class structure of Hungarian society. Great success was achieved in the country in carrying out the cultural revolution and developing the education system, the positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology were consolidated, and the alliance between the workers class and the cooperative peasantry was still further strengthened. The MSZMP's leading role in society was enhanced. All these changes signified the completion of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The Eighth MSZMP Congress held at the end of 1962 established the foundations of socialism.

Speaking at the congress, J. Kadar noted that the fulfillment of this historic task by the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic meant that the way to restoring capitalism had been closed forever and that the Hungarian people could rightly say that "having united with the international forces of socialism and relying steadily on these forces, they have achieved success in socialist construction that is incontestable and eternal. The Hungarian people have begun the era of the complete construction of socialism."8-9 [footnote number as published]

The tasks of strengthening the socialist foundations and continuing the construction of a new society at a higher stage of socioeconomic development were outlined and elaborated in the decisions of the 9th (1966) and 10th (1970) MSZMP Congresses. In Hungary, as in other socialist countries in Europe, by relying on Marxist-Leninist teaching, CPSU experience, and the documents of international conferences of communist and workers parties, communists have reached the conclusion that the process of laying the foundations of socialism is followed by a comparatively long period of strengthening and perfecting these foundations. This presupposes elaborating higher criteria and demands for development on socialist principles, including developing productive forces and production relations, the political system of society, and socialist democracy, strengthening the positions of Marxism-Leninism, increasing socialist awareness, and perfecting the forms and methods of party work, the party being the leading force of society.

As the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian people, the MSZMP has indicated the path of the country's further progress--a path which Hungary is now successfully following. In the fulfillment of its program aims, the MSZMP is guided by the general laws of building socialism while also taking

into account the country's specific national features. "The MSZMP's experience and the well-known shocks which have befallen the Hungarian People's Republic convincingly show," noted J. Kadar, "that one cannot violate the general principles and laws of building socialism with impunity. Any deviation from them--in the direction of right or 'left' opportunism--undermines the leading role of the party and consequently hampers and prolongs the struggle for power, slows down socialist development, and, what is more, can even knock a country from the path of socialism."<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, an important issue is that of correlating general laws with the national features of socialist construction. The MSZMP believes that following general laws does not exclude, but demands consideration of national features. "The main task is to take the necessary account of and to simultaneously implement both the general, international, basic laws of socialist construction and the special features of the country's national development and conditions," emphasized J. Kadar.<sup>11</sup>

The path trod by Hungary in the last 40 years serves as confirmation of the general laws of building socialism--the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the workers class, the firm alliance between the workers class and the cooperative peasantry, defense of the people's revolutionary achievements, a planned economy on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, reorganization of industry and agriculture on socialist principles, and implementation of cultural revolution. All the historic changes in the life of Hungary would have been impossible without the leading and guiding role of the MSZMP. Its place and role as the "leading force" of society have now been consolidated in the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The principle of party leadership and the leading role of the party is subjected to constant attacks by imperialist propaganda and opportunists within the ranks of the workers movement. The MSZMP takes a consistent stand in the matter of exposing these views of right- and "left"-wing revisionists. While fulfilling its leading role, the MSZMP determines the main directions of work to build and develop socialism while elaborating new proposals and tasks, mobilizes the masses to carry out these proposals and tasks, and controls the course of fulfillment of adopted decisions. A one-party system was historically formed during the socialist revolution in Hungary. As the ruling party, the MSZMP regards its leading role not as a privilege, but as serving the cause of the people.

In his article "Some Lessons of Building Socialism in Hungary" (the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1977) J. Kadar wrote of the necessity for continual efforts by the party to strengthen its ties with the masses, which is now embodied in the MSZMP's course to form socialist national unity and in its policy of uniting all classes and strata of society, the basis of which is accord with the aims of building socialism.

Developing and implementing an economic policy which answers the tasks of increasing social production efficiency, setting the national economy on a path of intensive development, and ensuring growth in the people's well-being

is the subject of the MSZMP's special attention. Proceeding from the premise that in politics and in socioeconomic development there is always a main link which the party must seize, because the fulfillment of all other tasks depends on this link, throughout the sixties to the eighties the MSZMP Central Committee has concentrated attention on increasing the efficiency of economic work. After several years of preparation the reform of the system of economic management was carried out in January 1968. Its special feature is that it combines the principles of centralized planning with economic regulating in the conditions of increased independence and responsibility for the enterprises.

Economic reform in the Hungarian People's Republic was mainly aimed at making a transition to intensive development, because extensive growth factors had been exhausted in the sixties. The beginning of the seventies was one of the most successful periods of development for the Hungarian planned economy. Thus, during 1971-1975 the national income increased by 35 percent in comparison to 1970. As much as 96 percent of the growth in national income and industrial production was achieved by increasing labor productivity.

However, in 1974 processes began in the world economy that were unfavorable to the Hungarian People's Republic and which for a long time had a negative effect on the development of its national economy. It is well known that in Hungary approximately half of the national income is realized through foreign trade. The proportions of exchange in foreign trade deteriorated under the influence of the energy and monetary crises in the capitalist economy. As a result of these changes Hungary was forced to annually export 20 percent more products than at the beginning of the seventies. A foreign trade imbalance appeared as a consequence of this in the second half of the seventies and Hungary also began to rapidly accumulate a foreign debt. Under these conditions shortcomings in the economy came to light, which had been well known before, but less noticeable with the good conditions on the world market. Realistically evaluating the situation, the MSZMP Central Committee and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic adopted and continue to adopt a series of measures aimed at halting unfavorable processes in the economy.

The tasks of ensuring stable economic development were discussed in detail at the 12th MSZMP Congress (1980). Further improving the balanced nature of the economy and increasing its intensification were put forward as the main tasks for the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1981-1985). In the social sphere it was recognized to be necessary to maintain the level of the people's well-being. As far as the basic tasks of the 5-year plan are concerned, statistics for 1984 attest to positive changes in the development of the Hungarian economy. For 3 years running a positive trade balance has been achieved in convertible currency (\$600 million in both 1983 and 1984), growth of the foreign currency debt has been checked, and there has been a noticeable trend toward a gradual reduction of this debt. Hungary has succeeded in preserving its solvency. A significant growth in labor productivity has been ensured. Programs for economizing raw and other materials have been successfully implemented and the consumption of energy per unit of production has been reduced.

The purposeful work of the party and state organs, economic and social organizations, and labor collectives, including the scale of socialist competition in honor of the 40th anniversary of the liberation from fascism and the 13th MSZMP Congress, has yielded its results. The results of 1984 attest to the successful fulfillment of the annual plan. After a period of temporary restrictive measures (the forced suspension of development rates, the restriction of production and personal consumption) the Hungarian economy is gradually gathering force. In 1984 the national income increased by 2.8-3 percent and the total volume of industrial production by 3 percent. Labor productivity grew by more than 3.5 percent. Great success was achieved in agriculture, the volume of production of which increased by 2.5-3 percent. A record grain harvest was gathered--15.7 million metric tons--2 million tons more than in 1983. The average wheat crop per hectare was 54 quintals, and the average corn crop--59 quintals. Meat production grew by 2 percent, totaling 2.4 million metric tons. Public consumption and real income increased by 1 percent.<sup>12</sup>

The same indexes of economic growth are also planned for 1985, the final year of the Sixth 5-Year Plan period. A program of measures to further perfect the present system of national economy planning and management has been set in motion this year in the Hungarian People's Republic. The tasks of intensifying production, improving the qualitative indexes of industrial, agricultural, and transport work, economizing on raw materials and energy, and accelerating scientific-technical progress are at the center of this program of measures. This work, which is calculated to cover a number of years, is of a comprehensive nature, affecting the system of planning, economic regulating, and price formation, as well as the organizational structure and the sphere of labor resources.

Over the course of 4 decades a success of historic significance has been achieved in Hungary: The people's power has been formed and consolidated, means of production means have been socialized, a planned economy is functioning, the large-scale development of industry and the socialist reorganization of agriculture are in progress, full employment for the population has been ensured, a reform of national economy management has been carried out, socialist democracy is being developed, socialist national unity is becoming stronger, the citizens' general culture and political and professional knowledge are being enhanced, and growth in the people's well-being has been ensured.

Bourgeois propaganda frequently contrasts the experience and achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic to that of other socialist countries, thereby trying to drive a wedge into their mutual relations. Western ideologists try to claim that the "secret" of Hungary's success lies in its introduction of capitalist methods and its encouragement of the private sector. How far this is from the truth is attested to by the simple fact that, according to statistics from the Hungarian People's Republic, the proportion of the private sector in the national income is only 4-5 percent. Household plots in Hungary, which account for up to one-third of agricultural production, are an integrated part of social production and develop with its assistance and on its basis. As far as the methods of economic

operations are concerned, then, as J. Kadar emphasized in his speech in summer 1984 at a workers conference in Budapest, "Hungary is successful precisely because it uses socialist methods. While striving to learn to work more flexibly and efficiently, we wish to perfect the system and activities of the fundamental institutions of the socialist system."<sup>13</sup>

Noting the successes of the Hungarian people at the contemporary stage of development, which has been complicated by unfavorable foreign trade conditions, the negative effect of crisis manifestations in the capitalist economy, and the increase in international tension caused by the aggressive policies of the United States and NATO, and self-critically pointing out shortcomings and errors in domestic economic work, the MSZMP has mapped out the tasks of the party and the people in a spirit of realism in order to overcome difficulties which have arisen and to ensure the systematic and dynamic development of the national economy.

In the conditions of intensified ideological struggle in the world arena, the MSZMP deems it necessary to decisively rebuff hostile propaganda, struggle against views and manifestations alien to socialism, and intensify educational work among young people. It calls for a strengthening of the party's leading role, increased unity and cohesion, and also increased discipline within the party ranks, and stronger ties between the party and the masses. The touchstone of party unity is its steadfastness and consistency in upholding and implementing MSZMP policy.

Soviet-Hungarian friendship and cooperation, which are in the vital interests of our countries and peoples, have become a powerful factor in our joint progress forward along the path of building socialism and communism. Our greatest achievement is the fact that this friendship and cooperation have become the vital cause of millions upon millions of Soviet and Hungarian people. A determining role in developing and deepening Soviet-Hungarian relations is played by the CPSU and the MSZMP, whose fraternal relations are characterized by unity of views in the approach to the main issues of the contemporary era: The USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic act together with the other countries of the community in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and for disarmament and improvement in the international climate. The system of meetings between the leaders of the two parties and the exchange of visits by party-state delegations are of great significance for coordinating actions. In this respect, the Soviet-Hungarian talks during the visit to the USSR by a Hungarian party-government delegation in summer 1983 were a remarkable phenomenon. There was intensive contact between members of the leadership of the two parties in 1984, when their determination to steadily develop and strengthen Soviet-Hungarian friendship and comprehensive, fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic was confirmed.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation is an important factor in our interaction. The Soviet Union accounts for more than 30 percent of the Hungarian People's Republic foreign trade turnover, and in 1984 the volume of our reciprocal trade reached a level of 8.6 billion rubles.<sup>14</sup> Favorable prospects for developing trade-economic relations between our countries in



the new 5-year plan period (1986-1990) have been opened up by the results of the summit-level CEMA Economic Conference held in 1984.

Deliveries of Soviet oil, gas, electrical energy, and other types of raw materials, and also of machines and equipment, are vitally important to the Hungarian economy. Our country has given and continues to give technical assistance in building and reconstructing a whole series of national economic establishments in Hungary, including the construction of the Paks nuclear power plant which already provides up to 23 percent of all electrical energy produced in the country. Deliveries of machines and equipment, chemical products and pharmaceuticals, and also consumer goods and food-stuffs from fraternal Hungary are also very important to the Soviet Union.

Cooperation between the socialist countries is constantly developing. New and important agreements on expanding work in the sphere of microelectronics, robot technology, in the agroindustrial complex, and in the production of consumer goods will soon be added to the already well-known Soviet-Hungarian agreements on cooperation in the aluminum industry and the production of olefins, and also on specialization and cooperation in a number of machine construction branches. At the decision of the governments of the two countries the Long-Term Program for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation up to the year 2000 is being developed. Cultural relations are being successfully developed. Soviet Culture Days, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the great victory, will be held in Hungary in autumn 1985.

Hungary's liberation from fascism as a result of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 was the first prerequisite of the historic turning point in the fate of the Hungarian people. However, the Hungarian working people had to make radical political and socioeconomic changes under the leadership of the Communist Party. Leading the popular masses, Hungarian communists developed and successfully implemented a program of popular-democratic revolution, which later grew into socialist revolution. The socialist system triumphed in Hungary. In their struggle to build a new society the communists of Hungary received support from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and relied on the historical experience of the CPSU--the first to lay a path to socialism.

It is symbolic that the work of the 13th MSZMP Congress was in progress when the Hungarian people were celebrating the 40th anniversary of their country's liberation from fascism. "Four decades ago," it is stated in the Accountability Report of the MSZMP Central Committee, "the Soviet Union, which had taken upon itself the main burden of World War II, gained victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism together with the other states in the anti-Hitler coalition. We sacredly preserve the memory of the heroes who gave their lives in the struggle for the people's freedom, and of the Hungarian communists, democrats, and antifascist patriots who did not begrudge their lives and struggled against fascism both in their motherland and in other countries."<sup>15</sup>

The result achieved by the Hungarian People's Republic during the past 4 decades convincingly attest to the vital force of the ideas of

Marxism-Leninism, the superiority of the socialist social system, and the great creative potential and enthusiasm of people who have thrown off the fetters of capitalist exploitation. Loyalty to the principles and laws of socialist construction, consideration of the specific features of the country, firm ties between the party and the people belonging to the socialist community--all this lies at the basis of the successes in socialist construction in Hungary. "The most important points in the program of our work for the forthcoming period," said J. Kadar at the 13th MSZMP Congress, "are primarily strengthening the socialist features of Hungarian society, struggling against phenomena alien to our system, steadily continuing socialist creative work, and building a developed socialist society. The Hungarian people have all the means at their disposal to implement this program."<sup>16</sup>

The firm economic foundations laid during the years of people's power, the advantages of a socialist planned economy, and extensive economic cooperation within the CEMA framework make it possible for fraternal Hungary, whose national economy is objectively closely connected with the foreign market, to overcome the difficulties caused by market disruptions in the world economy.

A most important condition of the achieved success has been and remains the leading role of the MSZMP in society. Hungarian communists develop and perfect the forms and methods of party work and strengthen their ties with the masses. The party consistently works to shape socialist awareness and struggles against views alien to socialism.

The countries of the socialist community are progressing successfully. During the past 4 decades--since the defeat of fascism--our general ideas on building socialism have been enriched and broadened, and every fraternal party makes its contribution to the treasure house of the historical experience of world socialism. The experience of struggling for socialism attests to the fact that the real national interests of every socialist country can be safeguarded by adhering to the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism and by strengthening the socialist community as a whole in every possible way.

A meeting was held in Moscow in March between the heads of the party-state delegations from the Warsaw Pact member-states. "Its participants," said J. Kadar, "expressed their common determination to also henceforward perfect comprehensive political interaction and economic, ideological, and other cooperation, as well as their intention to strive consistently and in a constructive spirit to lessen tension in the world, eliminate the threat of nuclear war, take effective measures in the area of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and prevent the militarization of outer space. They voiced their unanimous opinion to extend the term of effect of the Warsaw Pact."<sup>17</sup>

It is by these conclusions that Hungarian communists are also guided while perfecting and deepening relations with the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries and actively participating in the common work of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact Organization, and in the joint struggle for peace and social progress.

Determination to do everything possible to ensure peaceful life on earth was emphasized in the speeches by delegates at the 13th MSZMP Congress and by the leaders of party delegations from socialist community countries, including the head of the CPSU delegation--Comrade G. V. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Our enemies utilize any opportunity and any means in the international ideological struggle in order to undermine the unity of the socialist countries. They strive to weaken the solidarity of the working masses of the world with real socialism and to shake their faith in the possibility of building a new society. They try to destroy the unity of fraternal socialist countries, and they also exaggerate differences in the national features of socialist construction as being fundamental.

Communist parties have always clearly understood that a clash of ideologies is inevitable in the struggle for social progress, but this struggle must remain in the sphere of ideas and be waged with the aid of arguments and facts and not prevent peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems or normal international relations.

As genuine internationalists, the Soviet people are glad of the achievements of the fraternal Hungarian people and wish their Hungarian friends new success on the path of implementing the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress.

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CSO: 1807/320

ROMANIA

REAGAN RECEIVES ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS

AU232131 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Washington, 23 May (AGERPRES)---President Ronald Reagan received Nicolae Gavrilescu, who presented his letters of credence as ambassador of Romania to the United States of America.

Wishes of good health and personal happiness were conveyed to the U.S. President from Romania's president as well as wishes of prosperity and peace for the American people.

In his turn, the U.S. President requested that thanks be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the message, and addressed him wishes of success, of peace and continuous prosperity of the Romanian people.

The U.S. President was highly appreciative of the ties with Romania which in the last twenty years, owing to the two sides' concerted efforts, saw significant growth, being underlain by the principles of national independence and sovereignty, and mutual regard.

CSO: 2020/138

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVED DOMINICAN ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU271924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 27 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 27 May (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on 27 May Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, who presented his letters of credence as ambassador to the Dominican Republic to Romania.

The Dominican ambassador expressed the satisfaction of his country's government at the relations with Romania as well as President Salvador Jorge Blanco's willingness that the ties between the two countries be still closer and materialize in new cooperation ventures.

The Romanian head of state shows in his address on the occasion that Romania gives special attention to its relations with the Dominican Republic, the development of which is based on the lasting principles of equality of rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, and renunciation of the use and threat of force. He also expressed Romania's solidarity with the Latin American people's fight for socioeconomic progress, for the assertion of their national being, and underscores the need for the problems in Central America be solved through negotiations by all the states concerned, without any outside interference, on the basis of the proposals advanced by the Contadora Group.

CSO: 2020/138

1 July 1985

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU PAYS WORKING VISIT TO OLT COUNTY

AU232133 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to industrial and farming units in Olt County on 23 May.

The RCP and Romanian state leader met with worker collectivities of the producer cooperative farm of Osica, the state farming unit of Piatra Olt and the synthetic fibre and yarn enterprise in the town of Corabia.

The visit was an opportunity to examine together with decision makers, representatives of local party and state bodies, experts and working people the results scored so far, and to set measures for the appropriate fulfillment of their tasks in the current development stage of the county.

In the town of Corabia, the Romanian head of state attended the inauguration of a memorial to the Romanian soldiers who fought in the independence war (1877-1878).

CSO: 2020/138

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT MONUMENT UNVEILING 23 MAY

AU281421 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 May 85 p 3

[Excerpts] The visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, to Olten County ended on 23 May with a solemn event with a deep-going impact on the city life--the unveiling of the Independence Monument, built at the recommendation of the party secretary general.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor and said:

[Text of Ceausescu speech] Dear comrades: I would like to extend warm congratulations to the builders of this monument that recalls and will always recall the heroic struggle fought by our soldiers and by our people for independence, freedom, and for the formation of the Romanian nation and nation state.

I also want to congratulate the county party organization and all those who have contributed to the building of this monument. Let us keep alive forever the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for our homeland's freedom and independence!

Let us do all we can to elevate free and independent Romania--in which our people will always master their own destiny--to new heights of progress, to communism!

CSO: 2020/138



ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CYPRIOT PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU101901 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, today received the Cypriot parliamentary delegation led by Yeoryios Landhas, president of the House of Representatives, which is on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The head of the Cypriot delegation expressed warm thanks for being received, and extended to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings and best wishes on behalf of Spiros Kiprianou, president of Cyprus, as well as feelings of esteem, friendship and high appreciation on behalf of the Cypriot parliament and people.

The head of the Romanian State expressed thanks and asked the guests to convey cordial greetings to President Spiros Kiprianou, as well as wishes for peace and progress and for achieving a united independent Cyprus to the parliament and friendly Cypriot people.

During the talk, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the two sides stressed the positive relations established between our countries and peoples, the development of which was decisively influenced by the summit meetings and talks. The sides also stressed that there are great possibilities of continuing to develop Romanian-Cypriot cooperation. They emphasized the important role developing on parliaments and parliamentarians in strengthening relations of friendship between Romania and Cyprus and in intensifying their cooperation both at a bilateral and international level.

The sides also discussed certain aspects of current world issues. Referring to the situation in Cyprus, Romania's president stressed that everything must be done to resolve all problems in the island exclusively by political means and negotiations between the two communities so as to ensure the unity, integrity, and independence of Cyprus and the peaceful coexistence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

In this context, the sides stressed the importance of the proposals made by the UN secretary general which constitute basis for reaching an agreement on the political settlement of the Cypriot problem.

[Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 1820 GMT adds that "Nicolae Giosan, chairman of Romania's Grand National Assembly, participated" in the meeting]

ROMANIA

## VISIT OF SPAIN'S KING JUAN CARLOS

### King Speaks at Bucharest Banquet

LD202033 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] We now go over to Bucharest for a report on the king and queen's stay in Romania--here are Radio Madrid correspondents Javier Arenas and Juan Ramon de la Cuadra.

[Begin recording] [De la Cuadra] Good evening from Bucharest where Mr Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and his wife are now hosting a dinner in honor of their majesties Don Juan Carlos and Dona Sofia, the king and queen of Spain, the Palace of the Council of State. Javier Arenas is there:

[Arenas] Good evening from the Presidential Palace in Bucharest. We can now hear direct from the salon where 80 guests, at whose head naturally are the King and Queen of Spain and President Nicolae Ceausescu and wife, are dining. These are the words being delivered right now by King Don Juan Carlos.

[King Juan Carlos] At that forum our respective delegations are constantly in touch and gave each other support in the search for constructive formulae which allowed the conference to be concluded with a positive balance. In the field of culture, the old common intellectual asset gave rise to a reciprocal interest in the languages and cultures of the two countries. The route already begun with the work of the respective specialists in Romanian and Spanish language and literature in different universities ought to be given impetus and used as an instrument of rapprochement and as a route to understanding. We value the interest....

[Arenas commenting over king's voice] Naturally King Don Juan Carlos was referring--at the moment we linked up with the banquet hall--to the Conference on Security and Peace in Europe held in Madrid a few years ago. The King of Spain said: Peace is not a static concept but a dynamic idea which requires constant effort to guarantee it and give it new life. He told Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu: Your country's efforts, efforts for the cause of peace, detente, disarmament and dialogue between North and South, run parallel with the priority objectives of present-day Spain's foreign policy. Giving a recent example of that, he cited--as we said--the Conference on Security and

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Cooperation in Europe. That was the point at which we joined the banquet hall where King Don Juan Carlos is still speaking and who said before the Romanian President that today Spain is a democracy based upon respect for human rights and individual and joint liberties. He said: In accordance with our experience we understand that such a political system is the best foundation for a peaceful (?community). These are the closing words of his toast:

[King Juan Carlos] ...and for that of your wife, to the prosperity and progress of the noble Romanian people and to the future of the relations between our countries.

[Arenas] That was live from the Presidential Palace in Bucharest at 2109. President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu, spoke beforehand and said that it was a great pleasure for him to address his majesty and the queen with cordial greetings, recalling that the two countries--Romania and Spain--have the same objectives: that their peoples may live in peace and security. Ceausescu said, we consider the beginning of the talks in Geneva to be a positive step and expect responsibility from the superpowers as a result of them. The President of Romania also has faith that missiles will be eliminated and after them all the nuclear arms in Europe. The European states, and above all the members of the two alliances--we remind you that Romania is in the Warsaw Pact and Spain is in NATO--ought to behave with more firmness and responsibility concerning the life of their peoples, said the Romanian president. Romania, he said firmly, calls consistently for the rejection of the use of force in international relations. This is all from the palace where the dinner is now about to begin on this the 1st day of the king and queen's official visit.

[De la Cuadra] Beforehand they held talks with two central points of attention--Romania and Spain and world peace--[words indistinct] subjects which concern the two statesmen as we heard in their dinner speeches. Already (?overcome) is the issue of mixed marriages, studying the setting-up of mixed Hispano-Romanian firms and studying the possibility of reaching agreement on pensions for the Spaniards who are resident in Romania. Aside from bilateral relations, which are absolutely cordial, the king and President Ceausescu's talks had a common denominator: detente and peace, highlighting as the two most priority topics the Middle East and Nicaragua. We remind you that Foreign Minister Fernando Moran was recently in Egypt and yesterday Egyptian President Mubarak made a technical stopover in Bucharest, hence their information on the Middle East is--as they say--first-hand. President Ceausescu was especially interested in hearing the Spanish points of view on Nicaragua. That is all for the moment from the Socialist Republic of Romania, and from Bucharest. [end recording]

#### Ceausescu Speech at Dinner

AU231206 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 May 85 pp 1, 3

[Speech given by President Nicolae Ceausescu RCP secretary general, at dinner given in honor of King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia of Spain on 20 May in Bucharest State Council Palace]

[Text] Your Majesty,

We take particular pleasure in extending to you and to the queen a cordial welcome and greetings to the Romanian soil. We also take this opportunity to convey the friendly Spanish people our best wishes for progress, prosperity, and peace.

The state visit you are paying to our country is a new illustration of the good Romanian Spanish relations and an expression of our common wish to further amplify and develop these relations in all fields of activity.

Traditional ties of friendship and cooperation have been established between the Romanian and Spanish peoples based on our common origin and the linguistic and cultural affinities, and on common ideals and aspirations for freedom and progress. One can say that despite the fact that the Romanian and Spanish peoples have been formed and developed in different parts of the European continent and in different social and historical conditions, they have retained many common features, their trade and cultural exchanges go back a long way, and they have learned to know and appreciate each other.

While recalling the great traditions of our part, we cannot stop thinking of the noble duty devolving on us today, to develop and enrich these traditions and to add--through joint efforts--new elements to them and to give new impetus and further deepen the friendship and cooperation between our peoples and countries.

Undoubtedly, a reason for satisfaction during recent years is that Romanian-Spanish relations, based on full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage, have registered a growing course. On the occasion of the state visit we paid to your country in May 1979--a most pleasant memory for us--new horizons in Romanian-Spanish cooperation and collaboration opened up. I am convinced that the visit you are paying to Romania and the talks we will hold go down as new and important even in the chronicle of relations between our countries, and will give new dimensions to Romanian-Spanish cooperation and collaboration both on a bilateral and an international level.

As European countries, Romania and Spain--despite their different social and political systems--objectively share the same basic interests; namely, that their people may live and develop in conditions of peace and full security. In the present extremely serious and complex international situation--when the basic problem of our epoch is to halt the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and to defend peace--it is more necessary than ever that all nations and countries of the world, regardless of their social and political system, more actively cooperate in order to halt the dangerous course of events toward confrontation and war and firmly assert the policy of detente, cooperation, and peace. Mankind's peace interests must prevail over any differences!

The beginning of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the issue of nuclear and space weapons is a positive step in the international situation. Romania--like all countries and peoples in Europe and throughout

the world--expects a sense of responsibility for the destiny of peace and human civilization to be shown at the Geneva negotiations, and constructive actions to be taken by both sides to reach understandings and agreements leading to the halt of the arms race and the elimination of missiles, and eventually of all nuclear weapons from Europe and the world over.

In this spirit, we believe that all European countries--particularly those which belong to the two military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--must act with more determination and sense of responsibility for the lives of their peoples and of Europe and should meet and tackle new initiatives and actively contribute, in one way or another, to finding appropriate solutions within the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva.

At the same time, we believe that the activity within various international bodies and conferences devoted to disarmament, security, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world must be increased. In particular, everything possible should be done to conclude with increasingly better results the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security, and Disarmament in Europe.

Romania continuously speaks out for renunciation of the use and the threat of force in international relations and for finding peaceful solutions, solely through negotiations, to all conflicts and interstate disputes.

We are concerned about the deterioration of the international economic situation, which practically affects all countries, especially developing countries. We believe that it is necessary to reach negotiations within the United Nations, as soon as possible, in order to find overall solutions to the problem of underdevelopment--including the problem of the developing countries' extremely high foreign debt--and to achieve a new international economic order.

Realities have demonstrated that just and durable solutions to the increasingly more complex problems of the international situation can be found only with the active and equal participation of all states, regardless of their size or social system. Romania is consistently militating for a growing role of the United Nations and of other international organizations in [word indistinct] democratic solutions to all the problems on which ensuring peace and the progress of the nations depends.

I would like to point out, on this occasion too, the active cooperation between Romania and Spain within the United Nations as well as at the Madrid meeting and at other international conferences and meetings devoted to the issues of security, confidence, and cooperation on our continent and throughout the world. I would like to express my belief that the two countries will continue to actively cooperate in order to assert a policy of peace, security, and détente.

I am convinced that the state visit you are paying to Romania will mark an important event in developing the good Romanian-Spanish relations and I would like to raise a toast to Your Majesty and the Queen's health, the prosperity of the friendly Spanish people, and to further developing Romanian-Spanish relations.

To peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world!

To the health of all of you!

#### Key to Bucharest Given to King

AU211900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 21 May (AGERPRES)--King Juan Carlos I of Spain was presented with the Key of Bucharest City in a ceremony held on 21 May.

Addressing the distinguished guest, Gheorghe Pana, chairman of the Municipal People's Council, mayor-general of the Romanian capital, expressed the Bucharesters' feelings of profound respect for the distinguished guests, of warm friendship for the Spanish people. Stressed also was the confidence that the new Romanian-Spanish summit dialogue would account for a moment of decisive importance in the continuous development and amplification of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

"I shall keep the key of Bucharest City," said the Spanish sovereign, "as a symbol of the friendship between the Romanian people and the Spanish people, as a memento of this so fine visit to Romania made at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of MME Ceausescu. [quotation marks as received]

Thanking for the feeling expressed the distinguished guest expressed his confidence that the friendship between the Romanian people and the Spanish people would develop further and requested that the Bucharesters be conveyed keenest thanks for their warm hospitality.

#### King Receives Diplomatic Corps

AU211901 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 21 May (AGERPRES)--King Juan Carlos I of Spain and Queen Sophia received the diplomatic heads of mission and the representatives of international organizations accredited to Romania, with a ceremony held in Bucharest, on 21 May in the evening.

Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, other Romanian officials, were present.

Fernando Moran, minister of foreign affairs, other Spanish officials accompanying the distinguished guests on their state visit in Romania, attended.

Visits Suceava County

AU211855 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 21 May (AGERPRES)--On 21 May, the second day of the state visit they are paying to Romania, as guests of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Elena Ceausescu, King Juan Carlos I of Spain and Queen Sophia visited Suceava County (the North-East of Romania).

The guests were accompanied by Stefan Andrei, Romanian foreign minister, and other Romanian officials.

Fernando Moran, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, and other Spanish officials went on the visit.

After he traversed the main avenues of Suceava City lined by modern housing developments, the industrial platforms of the city, the official motorcade headed for the zone where the renowned medieval churches, unique for their artistic value--Voronet, Moldovita, Sucevita--are located.

During the visit in Suceava, Traian Garba, chairman of the County People's Council, gave a luncheon in honor of King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia.

In the afternoon, the guests returned to Bucharest.

Juan Carlos Departs Bucharest

AU220924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0910 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--On Wednesday, 22 May, King Juan Carlos I of Spain and Queen Sofia concluded the state visit they paid to Romania at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and King Juan Carlos I, Elena Ceausescu and Queen Sofia arrived together at the International Airport in Bucharest.

The aircraft with the distinguished Spanish guests aboard took off at 11:00 local time.

CSO: 2020/140

ROMANIA

VISIT OF CONGOLESE PRESIDENT

Welcomed by Ceausescu

AU171044 Bucharest Fomestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 17 May 85

[Excerpts] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, a few minutes ago Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and chief of government, and Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso, arrived on an official friendship visit to our country.

The arrival ceremony is taking place at Otopeni Airport adorned festively. The portraits of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso framed with the national flags of the two countries are displayed above the entrance to the airport. Large placards bear wishes for Romanian-Congolese friendship and cooperation, for peace and international understanding.

The messengers of the Congolese people are being welcomed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and other comrades of our party-state leadership. Upon stepping off the plane, Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso were greeted with special cordiality by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. A military guard lined up at the airport presented arms. The national anthems of the People's Republic of the Congo and the SR of Romania were played.

Calls on Ceausescu

AU172055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 17 May (AGERPRES)--The president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, paid a courtesy call on 17 May on RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu. The interview, which took place before official talks, passed under the sign of friendship, mutual understanding and respect specific of the Romania-Congolese summit, of the fine relations between the two countries and peoples.



### Talks With Ceausescu

AU172053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 17 May (AGERPRES)--Official talks started in Bucharest on 17 May between RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo.

The talks were attended by Romanian and Congolese officials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu warmly welcomed the visit Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso is paying to Romania, and expressed his belief that it would go down as a highly significant moment in the evolution of the fine relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso thanked for the invitation to visit Romania, for the hospitality extended to him, saying that he saw in it an expression of the feelings of lasting friendship and respect the two peoples nurture for each other.

In the first round of talks, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso exchanged views at length on the evolution of bilateral ties, and on questions related to their broader promotion.

The two leaders stressed that the links between Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo, the economic zones in particular, had witnessed a positive course in recent years. Furthermore, it was assessed that the achievements scored in the sphere of bilateral collaboration as well as the growing economic potential of the two countries provided favourable prerequisites for the future growth of the Romanian-Congolese cooperation in a series of important domains, especially in agriculture, in wood exploitation and working, personnel training and in other sectors of mutual interest. To that effect, it was set that the role of the Joint Governmental Commission should be strengthened in a steady promotion of economic and technological cooperation between the two countries. It was instructed that the ministers of the delegations participating in the talks, and the relevant bodies of the two countries should study specific modalities of intensifying the Romanian-Congolese collaboration and cooperation on mutually advantageous economic terms and on solid, long-term bases, which should impart them stability and broad prospects.

The conviction was expressed that the steady Romanian-Congolese cooperation met both countries and peoples' interests and aspirations after peace and progress, served the cause of detente, understanding and collaboration among nations.

The talks pass [as received] in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual understanding and esteem.

On Friday, 17 May, Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso, accompanied by Congolese officials, paid a visit to the art museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Upon arrival, the guests were greeted by Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education.

The guests saw round the halls of the national gallery, as well as the halls, where works by masters of the world art are displayed.

Before leaving, Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso signed in the visitors' book.

#### Ceausescu Dinner Toast

AU202022 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 May 85 pp 1, 3

[Toast proposed by President Nicolae Ceausescu at dinner given in honor of Congo's President, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, on 17 May in Bucharest]

[Text] Comrade President,

Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso,

Comrades and Friends,

We take pleasure in extending cordial greetings to you as guests of Socialist Romania and in extending in this connection a warm welcome to our country.

We appreciate your visit to Romania as an expression of the good relations between our countries and peoples and of the joint wish to further expand these friendly relations. Our countries have achieved some joint cooperation actions and there are further broad possibilities to expand them even more strongly, on principles of full equality and mutual advantage. There are particularly favorable conditions to promote better cooperation in oil and gas exploitation and capitalization, in mine exploitation and geology, in agriculture, wood exploitation and industrialization, and in other fields of activity. We believe that during this visit we will reach understandings which can lay an everlasting, solid, and durable foundation for Romanian-Congolese collaboration and cooperation. This is fully in keeping with the interests of both peoples and at the same time makes a contribution to the cause of cooperation, detente, and peace throughout the world.

During your visit to Romania you will have the opportunity to become directly acquainted with some of the achievements attained by our people in the socioeconomic development of the country and in building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Everything we have achieved and are achieving in our homeland serves the people, their well-being and happiness and serves Romania--a free, independent, and sovereign country--serves to raise it to ever higher levels of civilization and progress.

We are familiar with your people's efforts to eliminate the hard inheritance of the past--colonial domination--and ensure the socioeconomic progress of the entire country. We rejoice in the results attained by you and we wish the friendly Congolese people the attainment of ever greater results on the

path of independent development and in building a new, free, and prosperous society.

Comrade President,

The current international situation has become particularly serious and complex as a result of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, of maintaining and redividing the spheres of influence, of continuing the state of conflict and war, and especially of increasing the nuclear arms race.

Under these circumstances we believe that the basic issues of our times are halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and eliminating the danger of war which, under the current circumstances, could inevitably turn into a nuclear war, leading to the elimination of life on the entire planet.

Mankind recently marked the 40th anniversary of the victory over the darkest force that history has known--fascism. Drawing the appropriate conclusions from the causes that led to World War II, the people of the world have to act united and with determination to stop the dangerous course of events toward confrontation and war and to defend the supreme right of nations to life, peace, and to a free and independent existence.

We express our hope that within the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva both sides will make all efforts and will act with the highest sense of responsibility with a view to reaching appropriate agreements that can lead to halting the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and will bring about the prevention of the militarization of outer space.

We believe that all the countries must contribute to solving the problems discussed in Geneva, since these problems regard the life and existence of all mankind. We particularly appreciate that European countries--but primarily the countries belonging to the two military pacts NATO and the Warsaw Pact--must be more active and must meet, discuss, and contribute, in one or another, to the successful development of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations. At the same time we believe that activity within various international bodies and conferences devoted to disarmament, cooperation, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world has to be increased.

The Romanian people and Socialist Romania have always manifested their support and solidarity with the African peoples' struggle to completely eliminate colonialism, to consolidate their national independence, and to develop freely on the path of socioeconomic progress.

We speak out for strengthening cooperation and unity among African peoples and we believe that in this respect an important role is incumbent on the Organization of African Unity, which can make a significant contribution to developing cooperation among the states of that continent and to uniting all efforts in order to find political solutions to the problems existing between some of them.

In the current international situation firm action must be taken to eliminate force and the threat of force from international relations and to solve all interstate conflicts peacefully, solely through negotiations.

We manifest our entire solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, to gain national independence and we condemn South Africa's attempts to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia.

We speak out against South Africa's apartheid policy and we demand most resolutely the observance of the rights of all nations and of the entire population living in this area to free development.

Romania consistently militates for the elimination of underdevelopment and the achievement of a new international economic order, for finding all-round and just solutions to the problems of foreign debts which heavily burden the developing countries.

We believe that it is necessary to reach concrete and real negotiations between developed and developing countries as soon as possible. We advocate the setting up of a summit conference of the developing countries which should discuss the complex problems of underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order and should establish measures of cooperation among them, as well as a common strategy for negotiations with developed countries.

The solving of complex problems in the international arena requires the equal participation of all states, particularly the small and medium-sized countries, developing and nonaligned countries, which make up the great majority of the world's countries. At the same time, we believe that the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies must increase in order to solve the problems, democratize the interstate relations, and ensure peace and understanding among nations.

I am convinced that the visit you are paying to Romania, the talks we had, and the understandings we will reach, open up new prospects for the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, parties and peoples and I would like to raise a toast:

--To your health comrade president and Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso!

--To the friendly Congolese people's progress and prosperity!

--To developing friendship and cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples!

--To peace and cooperation throughout the world!

--To the health of all you!

### Visit To Bucharest Units

AU181726 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1628 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 18 May (AGERPRES)--The president of the Congolese Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, Colonel Deni Sassou-Nguesso, and the Congolese officials who are accompanying him on his visit to Romania were guests on 18 May to large Romanian industrial enterprises.

At the aircraft manufacturing enterprise of Bucharest he got acquainted with the achievements of the "Rombac [Romania-British Aircraft Corporation] 1-11" aircraft manufacturers, and was informed about the latest airplanes made in Romania.

The same day in the afternoon, the Congolese leader saw round the "1 May" enterprise of Ploiesti, the largest Romanian oilfield equipment manufacturing unit where a wide range of drilling rigs for 1,200-to-10,000 m depths are produced. The hosts informed the distinguished guest that more than 70 per cent of the unit's production was meant for export.

The same day, Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso paid a visit to the garments and knitwear enterprise of Bucharest.

### Presidents Continue Talks

AU181821 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1754 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 18 May (AGERPRES)--On 18 May official talks continued in Bucharest between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo.

The members of the two delegations participated in the talks.

This new round of talks was devoted to further examining certain problems regarding the development of the bilateral relationships and major aspects of the current international political life. The sides also informed mutually of the preoccupations concerning the present and the future of the two countries, parties and peoples regarding the economic and social development of Romania and of the Republic of the Congo.

During the exchange of opinions on the evolution of the international situation the sides expressed concern over the very grave tension extant in the world consequent to the imperialist policy of force and domination, interference in the domestic affairs of other states, consolidation and redivision of the zones of influence, conflicts in various regions of the globe and particularly to the unprecedented intensification of the arms race, of the nuclear one in the first place.

The sides pointed out that under the current circumstances all the peoples, the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere need to join efforts and collaborate ever more tightly in order to halt the dangerous evolution of events towards confrontation and war, for a resumption of the detente process, for an independent development, for the promotion of peace and collaboration among nations.

It was pointed out that our epoch's fundamental issues were the halting of the arms race and the passage to disarmament, nuclear above all, the securing of peace and the protection of people's and nations' essential right to life, free and dignified existence. The importance was emphasized of proper accords to be reached within the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, conducive to a halt in the emplacement of the medium-range missiles and the removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe, to the prevention and avoidance of outer space militarization and the dispelling of the serious dangers hovering over mankind.

The exchange of views on international matters disclosed the need for ruling out force and threat with force from international relations, settling all inter-state conflicts and disputes by political, negotiated means in harmony with the people's interests to cooperate and live in peace and security.

In connection with the matters in Africa, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Denis Sassou-Nguesso stressed the necessity of strengthening the African people's struggle for the full eradication of any form of domination and oppression, for the defence and consolidation of national independence, for self-dependent economic and social development.

Romania's and Congo's solidarity with the African peoples was stressed, and it was shown that in that spirit the two countries actively supported the struggle of the Namibian people under the SWAPO leadership, for Namibia's full independence, firmly declared for the abolition of the apartheid policy in South Africa and for equal, democratic rights to be secured to all citizens of that country.

President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the important role incumbent upon the Organization of African Unity in rallying the efforts of the countries in the continent for the political settlement of the disputes and tensions existing in Africa and especially for the promotion of the economic cooperation among the African states, for the strengthening of their collaboration on a regional and world plane.

It was considered during the talks that the worsening of the world economic situation practically told on all states of the world and especially on the developing countries. It was pointed out that under the circumstances actual negotiations ought to start the soonest between the developed and developing states, within the UN, with a view to finding a global solution to the problems of underdevelopment, including the extremely big foreign debts that are a burden to the needy countries, and the achievement of a new international economic order. Nicolae Ceausescu showed in that context that Romania always declared for the organization of a summit of the developing countries to discuss

together the complex issues of eradicating underdevelopment and building the new international economic order, of strengthening the collaboration among themselves, as well as the establishment of a joint strategy of negotiations with the developed countries.

The fact was stressed that the settlement of the major issues facing mankind now called for the active and equal participation in internal life of all states and especially of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and non-aligned countries which are directly interested in a policy of collaboration, independence and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso reiterated the determination of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo to ever more closely collaborate in the world arena, within the UN and its specialized agencies, to contribute by joint efforts and actions to the establishment of a climate of peace, security, confidence and broad cooperation in Europe, Africa and the world over, to the attainment of all people's ideals of freedom, independence and progress.

The new round of talks proceeded in an atmosphere of warm friendship, mutual understanding and esteem.

#### Visit to Brasov Enterprise

AU191533 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1516 GMT 19 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 19 May (AGERPRES)--On Sunday morning, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and the officials who accompany him on his Romanian visit, saw round the "Tractorul" enterprise of Brasov.

The guests were accompanied by Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee, foreign affairs minister.

During the visit, the guests were shown the collectivity's preoccupations for the diversification of the tractor manufacturing range, the continual improvement of product performance and quality. While visiting the engine and general assembly sections, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso praised the high-tech and high-yield characteristics of both the equipment and plant, the working people's concerns for the improvement of product quality.

At the end of his visit to the works, the Congolese party and state leader was shown the wholerange of tractors, lorries, service trucks, buses and other transportation means manufactured by the Romanian Machine Building Industry.

In the afternoon, the distinguished guests returned to Bucharest.

### Conclusion of Talks

AU201156 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1054 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 20 May (AGERPRES)--Official talks between RCP general secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, President of the People's Republic of the Congo, concluded in Bucharest on Monday, 20 May.

The last round of talks was attended by Elena Ceausescu and Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso.

The two party and state leaders expressed their satisfaction at the productive exchange of views they had these days in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and esteem. The conviction was expressed that the translation into face of the understandings covenanted would provide for the expansion of collaboration and cooperation between Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo in the political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other domains, conferring on them a solid, long-term basis, for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of their progress and prosperity.

Confidence was shown that, in keeping with what has been discussed so far, Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo would cooperative actively in the world arena, in the interests of the cause of detente, peace, disarmament, security, understanding and cooperation worldwide.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso agreed to continue the summit dialogue, emphasizing its important role in the growth of ties of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the two countries, parties and peoples.

### Documents Signed, Awards Exchanged

AU200756 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0700 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] The ceremony at which the Romanian-Congolese documents were signed took place at the Palace of the State Council this morning. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and head of the government, signed the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the SR of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo, and a long-term agreement, program on developing economic-technical cooperation and trade exchanges between Romania and the Congo.

The signing ceremony was attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso, as well as members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, and members of the Romanian and Congolese delegations.



After the signing, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso shook hands with warmth and embraced each other, thus expressing their satisfaction with the results of Romanian-Congolese summit talks.

Before signing the official documents, a last round of talks took place between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the republic, and Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and head of the government. This round of talks was attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso.

Also at the State Council Palace a ceremony took place at which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presented Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso with the highest distinction of the SR of Romania--the Star of the SR of Romania with sash. The same high distinction was bestowed on Comrade Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso.

In his turn, Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso awarded Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the highest distinction of the People's Republic of the Congo--the Great Cross of the National Order of the Congolese Merit. Comrade Elena Ceausescu was awarded the same high distinction.

#### Congolese President Departs Bucharest

AU200902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0828 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 20 May (AGERPRES)--The president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, and Antoinette Sassou-Nguesso concluded the official visit of friendship they paid to Romania upon the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu (17-20 May).

The distinguished Congolese guests were seen off at the international Bucharest Airport by the Romanian head of state, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Elena Ceausescu.

#### Friendship Treaty Signed

AU240834 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 May 85 p 2

["Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo"--SCINTEIA headline; signed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso on 20 May 1985 in Bucharest]

[Text] The SR of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo,

Inspired by the common desire to consolidate and develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Congolese peoples in the spirit of militant solidarity between the RCP and the Congolese Labor Party [CLP].

In the belief that strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two countries in all fields is in accordance with the interests of the Romanian and Congolese peoples and with the overall interests of peace, international cooperation, and understanding in the world.

Anxious to increase their contribution to the cause of international progress, peace, and security and contribute actively to developing cooperation among all nations and peoples in the world.

Deeply worried over the escalation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, which poses great dangers to the actual existence of life on earth; believing that the halting of the arms race, the transition to concrete disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament, and an end to production and improvement of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction means is the key issue of the contemporary age, in order to ensure peace, security, and cooperation among peoples.

Convinced of the need to intensify efforts to eliminate underdevelopment, establish a new international economic order, ensure the faster progress of lagging countries, and enhance the unity of action and cooperation of the developing countries,

Determined to further contribute to strengthening the solidarity, unity, and cooperation of developing countries, nonaligned states, and all forces acting for the promotion of new and democratic relations of equitable cooperation among all nations and for the equal participation of all states in international life,

Expressing their determination to work to solve all contentious problems through negotiations,

With solidarity in the struggle against the imperialist, colonialist, and neo-colonialist policy and against racist discrimination and apartheid,

Reiterating the need to increase the role of the United Nations in resolving the problems facing mankind and to adapt its structures to present-day realities.

Have decided to conclude the present Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation; to this end, they agreed on the following:

#### Article I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly proclaim their determination to develop and deepen relations of friendship, militant solidarity, and cooperation between the Romanian and Congolese peoples, between the RCP and the CLP, and between the SR of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo, in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty.

## Article II

The High Contracting Sides will work to develop trade exchanges and mutually advantageous economic and technical cooperation. The fields and conditions for this cooperation will be defined through adequately convened agreements between the sides.

The Joint Romanian-Congolese Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation will intensify its activity aimed at deepening and diversifying the Romanian-Congolese economic relations.

## Article III

The High Contracting Sides will strengthen and deepen ties between their peoples, parties, and countries through better mutual acquaintance with their material and cultural assets, by developing cooperation between the two countries in science, technology, education, public health, radio-television, tourism, and sports.

## Article IV

The High Contracting Sides will act to promote cooperation between their political and mass organizations--trade unions, women's youth and other organizations--with a view to strengthening ties of friendship between the Romanian and Congolese peoples.

## Article V

The High Contracting Sides will work to expand the political and legal framework required by the promotion of the Romanian-Congolese relations in all spheres of common interest.

## Article VI

The High Contracting Sides will base their relations and the relations with other states on the following principles:

1. The basic right of peoples of each state to free and independent existence, peace, and life.
2. The inalienable right of each people to independently decide its fate and freely choose and develop its political and socioeconomic system, in accordance with its own legitimate desires and interests and without any outside interference.
3. Full equality of rights among all states, regardless of size, geographical position, development level, social system, and membership or nonmembership in various military alliances.
4. The sovereign and inalienable right of each state to dispose of its natural riches and all other resources, in accordance with its national interests.

5. The obligation of states to refrain from direct or indirect interference, under any form, pretest, or situation, in the domestic or foreign affairs of other states and to observe the principle of good-neighborliness.

6. Respect for the inviolability of state frontiers and the territorial integrity of each state; consequently, one should refrain from any actions aimed against the national unity or territorial integrity of another state: nonobservance of these principles is a serious infringement against international peace and security.

7. The obligation of states to refrain, in their international relations, from the use of force or the threat of force and not to resort to any kind of military, political, economic, or other coercion against another state, under any pretext or circumstance.

8. The obligation of all states to settle their differences through peaceful means alone in all circumstances.

9. The right of all states--large, medium-sized, and small--to participate equally in solving international problems concerning peace, security, detente and cooperation.

10. The right and duty of states, regardless of their social and political system, to cooperate among themselves, on the basis of mutual advantage, with a view to maintaining international peace and security and promoting the socioeconomic progress of all nations, primarily of the developing ones.

11. The right of each state to development and participation in the world division of labor, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage; the right of each state to make use of international trade and economic cooperation to support its national development efforts. The duty of all states to intensify the efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and inequity in international economic relations and to build a new world economic order.

12. The right of each state to full access to scientific and technical achievements.

13. The duty of each state to fulfill in good faith the international duties assumed in accordance with the UN Charter or through other international treaties, or deriving from the generally acknowledged principles and norms of international law.

#### Article VII

The High Contracting Sides will act to develop relations of cooperation among all socialist countries, developing and nonaligned countries, and other states, with a view to promoting peace, disarmament, cooperation, and understanding in Europe, Africa, and throughout the world.

#### Article VIII

The High Contracting Sides will militate internationally to halt the arms race and agree upon concrete steps leading to general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, under efficient international control; they will also work to free mankind from the danger of a nuclear war, including a space war.

They will cooperate in reaching international agreements aimed at utilizing part of the means saved through the reduction of arms expenditures to aid the faster progress of developing countries.

#### Article IX

The High Contracting Sides pledge to work resolutely and cooperate with all countries, regardless of their social and political system or economic development level, to establish a better and more equitable new economic and political order in the world, which can eliminate the state of underdevelopment and promote the faster progress of developing countries and the prosperity of all peoples. In this respect, the Sides will cooperate in adopting and implementing concrete and efficient steps and programs within the United Nations.

During the process of building a new international economic order, the Sides will work to further strengthen the action solidarity and unity of developing countries.

#### Article X

The High Contracting Sides will make efforts to eliminate sources of distrust, tension, and conflict among states and will contribute to politically solving international differences through peaceful means; they will cooperate in the efforts to achieve lasting security in Europe, Africa, and other continents and to develop relations of friendship and understanding among peoples.

#### Article XI

The High Contracting Sides will continue to actively support the struggle of peoples for freedom, national independence, sovereignty, and social progress; they will cooperate with all peace and justice-loving states and with revolutionary and progressive forces to eliminate the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist, and racist discrimination policies.

The sides will act to fully implement the UN declarations on granting independence to countries and peoples under colonial domination and all other UN resolutions in this field.

#### Article XII

The High Contracting Sides will cooperate internationally with other states to increase the role and efficiency of the United Nations in solving the

complex problems of the contemporary world, defending independence and sovereignty, and developing equal cooperation among all countries; the Sides will also strive to improve and democratize the United Nations and adapt it to realities and requirements of the contemporary world.

#### Article XIII

In order to implement the principles and objectives of the present treaty, the High Contracting Sides will periodically consult and brief each other, at summit and other levels, with a view to stimulating bilateral cooperation and international cooperation between the two states, for the triumph of the cause of peace, freedom, and independence of all peoples.

#### Article XIV

The High Contracting Sides declare that the obligations included in the present treaty do not run counter to obligations devolving upon each side from other treaties they have or to the norms of international law.

#### Article XV

The present treaty is valid for 20 years and will be extended through tacit renewal for additional periods of 5 years each, provided that none of the Sides denounce it in writing at least one year before the expiration of its validity.

The treaty will be submitted to ratification and will take effect when ratification instruments are exchanged.

Concluded in Blcharest, on 20 May 1985, in two original copies, each in the Romanian and French languages; both texts have the same value.

For the SR of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

For the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the CLP Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of the Congo.

CSO: 2020/139

ROMANIA

GIOSAN, ANDREI MEET CYPRIOT PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU081911 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, 8 May (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met on 8 May with the Cypriot parliamentary delegation headed by Yioryios Ladhas, president of the House of Representatives, who paid a visit to Romania. The delegation includes deputies Kiriakos Khristou, Leandros Viktor Zakhariades, Rina Katselli and Iakovos Katsouotos.

During the talk, they exchanged information on the organization and activity of the parliaments in Romania and Cyprus, emphasizing the contribution they could make to the expansion of the relations between the two countries and peoples in domains of mutual interest. Stressed was also the importance of increasing the contribution of parliaments and parliamentarians to the building of a climate of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei had an interview with the Cypriot delegation the same day.

They discussed aspects of the collaboration between the two countries and exchanged views on problems of the current international political life. The guests also had an interview at the executive of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. The possibilities to develop the bilateral commercial exchanges were emphasized on the occasion.

CSO: 2020/138

ROMANIA

# GIOSAN RECEIVES COLOMBIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU031902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 3 Jun 85

[Spelling of Colombian names as received]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jun (AGERPRES)--The Colombian parliamentary delegation, led by Jose Antonio Name Teran, president of the Senate and Congress of the Republic of Colombia, arrived in Bucharest on 3 June, for a visit at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly. The delegation further includes Senators Gustavo Antonio Dajer Chadid and Zamirleduardo Silva Amin.

The guests were welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Romanian Grand National Assembly.

The same day, the chairman of the Romanian Parliament had an interview with the Colombian parliamentarians, during which they exchanged information on the activity of the two parliaments. They highlighted the contribution they could make to the development of the bilateral collaboration in domains of mutual interest and in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, in view of establishing and consolidating a climate of detente and understanding in the world.

The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly gave a dinner for the guests.

CSO: 2020/138



ROMANIA

CHEMICAL DEPUTY MINISTER DISMISSED FOR FUNDS MISUSE

AU131317 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Jun 85 p 5

["Drastic Steps Against Those Guilty of Violations and in Spending State Funds"]

[Text] The RCP Central Committee Secretariat recently discussed the report of the Higher Court for Financial Control, which carried out an inspection at the Constanta "Chimpex" enterprise which is under the subordination of the Ministry Of Chemical Industry. During the inspection, grave and illegal abuses by the management of this enterprise were noted. By violating the state's laws and ignoring the responsibility devolving upon it in connection with defending the integrity of public wealth and promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity, the management decided on the illegal and uneconomical spending of more than two million lei for the construction, equipping, and maintenance of an aquatic sports center on the shore of Lake Siutghiol, Mamaia, and of a sport hut located some 10 kilometers from the city of Macin, Tulcea County. Likewise, in an abusive and illegal manner it decided on reducing the financial shortfalls noted in the administration of the cafeteria. The same practice was applied when shortfalls were noted in the administration of the storage of the polyethylene foil in the enterprise (68,000 kilograms of polyethylene foil for export).

As the inspection proved, this state of affairs was reached because the Ministry of Chemical Industry did not appropriately control and guide the activity of this enterprise under its subordination -- "Chimpex," Constanta. At the same time, the people's council of Constanta Municipality, whose task it was to watch to what extent the facilities built on the shore of Lake Siutghiol, Mamaia, are within the legal norms, did not intervene to stop these violations of the party decisions and the country's laws.

For these violations and illegal actions, for strengthening order, discipline, and responsibility in the legal use of funds, and in order to prevent such abuses and violations of the law, Gheorghe Sava, the director of the "Chimpex" enterprise when these violations were committed has been relieved of his position of deputy minister of the chemical industry by presidential decree. At the same time, an additional 14 management cadres and executives were given disciplinary sanctions. It was also decided

to inform the General Prosecutor's office to carry out an investigation and to establish who is guilty of these illegal expenses and fraud. It was also decided to allocate the yacht club at Siutghiol-Mamaia and the sports hut near the city of Macin to other units for productive purposes.

The RCP Central Committee Secretariat has decided to exactly discuss -- with communist determination -- the conclusions drawn and measures established within the executive bureau of the Ministry of Chemical Industry and of other ministries and central bodies, within the executive bureaus of the country people's councils, and the Bucharest Municipal people's council in order to prevent such abuses. These discussions will undoubtedly supply the necessary conclusions to strengthen order and discipline everywhere, and responsibility toward the observance and application of the country's laws and toward commendably fulfilling the tasks of all those who have been entrusted by society to watch over the management -- with maximum care -- of public wealth.

CSO: 2700/167

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CUBAN ACTIVISTS END VISIT--A delegation of Communist Party of Cuba PCC activists paid a visit of exchange of experience to our country between 18-27 May. The Cuban guests held talks at the RCP Central Committee, Constanta and Brasov County party committees, the Ministry of Wood Industry and Construction Material, and central institutions and visited some industrial enterprises, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, and various tourist establishments in the respective areas. At the end of their visit the delegation of PCC activists was received at the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 May 85 p 3 AU]

PRC ARTISANS' ART EXHIBITION--Representative aspects of the old and new Chinese civilisation are illustrated by the exhibition "The PRC Artisans' Art" which opened at the History Museum of the SR of Romania, on 28 May. The exhibition is organized by the hosting institution with the assistance of the PRC Embassy in Bucharest and displays pieces which express the particular artistic skill of the Chinese people. The exhibition opening was attended by representatives of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, men of art and culture, and a large number of visitors. Also in attendance were Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the SR of Romania and members of the embassy. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 May 85 p 5]

CIOBANU MEETS PALESTINIAN TRADE UNIONISTS--Bucharest, 27 May (AGERPRES)--An interview took place on 27 May between a delegation of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania [GTUCR], led by Lina Ciobanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the QTUCR Central Council, and a delegation of the Palestinian Trade Union Federation, led by Haider Ibrahim [spelling as received], secretary-general of the federation, who are paying a visit of friendship and experience exchange to Romania. On the occasion, solidarity was reiterated with the just cause of the Palestinian people, just as the mutual wish to further develop and strengthen the fine ties of friendship between the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania and the Palestinian Trade Union Federation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 27 May 85 AU]

KUWAITI VESSEL RECEIVES MEDICAL AID--Bucharest, 27 May (AGERPRES)--While sailing to Ethiopia carrying rolled goods aboard, the Romanian cargo vessel Bihor,

commanded by Captain Decebal Tanaseanu, received an urgent message. "This is the Tabuk, sailing under Kuwaiti pavilion. We have a fire in the rudder chamber. Two members of our crew are seriously wounded. We request medical aid." The commander of the Romanian ship, which was sailing nearby, immediately sent a rescue boat with a nurse aboard who granted first aid to the two wounded sailors. They were then placed aboard the Bihor and taken to the port of Aden for hospitalization. Not long afterwards a message was received in Constanta coming from Kuwait: "Many thanks to the commander and crew of the Bihor for the medical aid granted to our seriously wounded soldiers, as well as for having taken them to Aden." [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 27 May 85 AU]

ROMANIAN ENVOY TO VIENNA--Vienna, 10 May (AGERPRES)--Trandafir Cocirla, Romania's ambassador in Vienna, presented his letters of credence to Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, federal president of Austria. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 10 May 85 AU]

ANDREI RECEIVED COLOMBIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS--Bucharest, 4 Jun (AGERPRES)--On 4 June Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei had an interview with the members of a Colombian parliamentary delegation headed by Jose Antonio Name Teran, president of the Senate and National Congress of the Republic of Colombia, now on a Romanian visit. During the interview the sides approached problems related to the development of the Romanian-Colombian collaboration in domains of joint interest as well as certain aspects of the current international political life. The guests also conducted talks at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1610 GMT 4 Jun 85 AU]

ROMANIA-TURKISH ENERGY PROTOCOL--The proceedings of the 9th session of the Romanian-Turkish Joint Commission on energy and natural resources issue were held in Ankara. The protocol was signed on expanding bilateral cooperation in the respective fields and on finding new possibilities of developing cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 May 85 p 6 AU]

DEFENSE MINISTER ATTENDS SYMPOSIUM--Bucharest, 29 Apr (AGERPRES)--A symposium was organized in Bucharest by the Ministry of National Defence to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Romania's independence day. Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Colonel-General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, party and state activists, generals and officers, antifascist war veterans, researchers in history attended. Heartfelt homage was paid to all the Romanian antifascist fighters, soldiers and officers who sacrificed for the homeland's liberation, for the crushing of Hitler's war machine and the total defeat of fascism. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 29 Apr 85 AU]

CANADIAN DELEGATION ENDS VISIT--Bucharest, 29 May (AGERPRES)--A group of teachers and students of the Canadian College of National Defence paid a visit to Romania over 25-29 May. The guests called at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the headquarters of the Association of International Law and International Relations, the Military Academy, and saw round the Central Military Museum as well as economic units and tourist spots. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 29 May 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/138

YUGOSLAVIA

# CROATIAN LC PLENUM DISCUSSES ELECTORAL ISSUES

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 May 85 pp 19-20

[Article by G. M.: "Decisions for Tomorrow"]

[Text] The way in which personnel policy in the League of Communists and in society at large has been conducted and implemented has been sharply criticized in the general party debate. The party rank and file and the working people have expressed dissatisfaction with personnel policy, which has displaced performance of the historical role and achievements of the interests of the working class and indeed has even displaced workers from the leadership of the LC, whereby it has also weakened its influence on the choice of personnel for the most responsible positions in the League of Communists and society. A demand has also been expressed in the debate for more vigorous measures (by the party and elsewhere) against occurrences of privatization and cliquish machinations, leaderism, careerism, subservience, excessive professionalization and other undesirable things.

It is precisely taking those views of the rank and file as the point of departure, and before the party and delegate elections, that the principles of personnel policy need to be reaffirmed, which is why the Croatian LC Central Committee at its last meeting, held before the May Day holidays, opted for that topic. An extremely interesting, important and stimulating document was the basis for discussion: "The Criteria and Procedure for Nominating and Electing Personnel to Bodies of the Croatian LC and LCY," which has aroused exceptional public interest since it was made public a month ago and presented so that positions on it might be taken by opstina organizations. It can be confidently said that we do not remember such an interesting meeting of the highest party forum in the republic for quite a long time, and quite certainly it will be remembered for its decisions and their consequences.

To be sure, after several hours of debate this document was not presented, because certain changes had to be made in it, not, it seems, essential in nature, but the very way in which this problem area was approached, which is actually only a segment of carrying out personnel policy, of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, Marijan Kalanj said in his introduction, deserves broader presentation.

## Innovations

The Central Committee judged that aside from the constructive results (getting back to the rank and file, greater turnover of personnel and the like) certain shortcomings were also noticeable. It was felt that in elections greater attention is paid to the election of individuals destined for positions of leadership than to the quality and homogeneous makeup of the collective body, and that there are cases of horizontal rotation, of moving from one leadership body to another, etc. The length of the term of office and its limited nature are only one of the elements of collective work, Kalanj said. Collective work should be placed in the foreground.

There is no need to specifically emphasize on this occasion that the program and the tasks state in advance both those who are to carry it out and the personnel who will occupy positions and be members of leadership bodies. It is an old truth, Kalanj emphasized, that everyone is not capable of everything for all time. In this entire activity we have to get better personnel than we have, we must get revolutionary, able and willing leadership bodies and individuals in them who know what they want and how to carry out the tasks that have been set.

In making the case for the proposal of the Presidium, Kalanj also spoke about the rather widespread demand of the rank and file that more than one candidate be nominated for all elective offices. However, there are also those who think differently.

Some think that there is no need for more than one candidate on the slate, but that the procedure is more essential, while for others the social climate is not favorable for carrying this idea out consistently. The argument is made in this connection that having more than one candidate could raise the danger of a petty bourgeois and careerist struggle for position and also make it more difficult to guarantee the appropriate composition with respect to social class, nationality, age and sex. Although these dangers should be taken into account, it is worth saying, Kalanj feels, that the experience with what are called closed slates have turned some candidates toward those who make decisions on the makeup of the lists, which in some people has encouraged and supported careerism, opportunism and cliquishness. So, no solution is ideal or without the danger of adverse tendencies.

With respect to the criticism expressed in the public debate that there is a considerable amount of distrust of young people, Kalanj said that if one analyzes the figures on the age-specific composition of opstina and interopstina secretaries and chairmen, it can be said that there has already been a change of age groups and that most of them are between the ages of 30 and 45.

There were also questions in the discussion about what was happening to the retirement of those personnel who had qualified for a pension. The law is in effect and is being applied to some of the personnel, but it is not being applied to others. It was proposed in the criteria that all those who fulfill the legal conditions must retire. Certainly the League of Communists is not renouncing the further commitment of experience and tested personnel, who are

indeed exceedingly necessary in this stage of the revolution; there is no question that these comrades may be elected according to the same criteria to the organs and bodies of the LC and the organs of other sociopolitical organizations and communities. However, they may not be elected to professional positions.

Among the interesting innovations we might refer to the proposals that election to the opstina, municipal or central committee be limited to two terms, and only in exceptional cases, subject to special proceedings, would a third be possible. The same thing, according to the proposal, would also apply to organs of the LCY which the LCY Congress is supposed to elect on the nominations of republic central committees. It has been proposed that the length of the term of office be made uniform throughout the LCY, and it would be longer than up to now.

One after another, there were many of these new things, and what did certain members of the Croatian LC Central Committee have to say about this?

#### Turning Around in a Circle

Mirko Lackovic, chairman of the Republic Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War], feels that a third term should not be allowed even as an exception and as far as the length of the term of office, he advocates that the chairman be elected for 1 year with the possibility of succeeding himself, and the secretary according to the formula 2 + 2, since other solutions would be a complete departure from Tito's initiative.

Dejan Rebic made the comment that the criteria did not contain any position on mandatory retirement for those who qualified for a pension, since this is a matter of law, not of party resolutions or positions, but he added that it is normal for all those who have a right to vote to also have the right to be elected. In his opinion the experience in practice with the 1-year term of office and collective work has varied from place to place, and where the chairman must succeed himself that is already a minus for that collective, for that joint and collective work. The 1 + 1 formula ought not to be conceived as the rule, but only as a possibility.

Milutin Baltic took the position that "we must turn to personnel who will guarantee the course of the League of Communists."

He agrees that we have a large number of personnel, but in his opinion "we have not done enough to equip them with more knowledge of particular kinds which they need, I am above all thinking of a familiarity with our system." Baltic also opposed the idea of a limitation to only two terms of office, "since this makes continuity practically impossible," and also "no one is elected an unlimited number of times without fulfilling the conditions and without rendering accounts." He likewise thinks that thought should be given to the proposal that the congress elect the organs of the LCY, "since in practice this would amount to bringing down those candidates who are somewhat better known." The present arrangement ought to be retained whereby it is



possible to contest the candidates. As for his view on mandatory retirement, Baltic feels that "this is a practical question and we should sit down and debate it, but not take a position which will prevent the Central Committee from making good decisions."

Jakov Blazevic asserted determinedly that we have dropped the word continuity from our vocabulary, and that is intolerable. We must get back to it, and that will be the yardstick for all our elections.

In the opinion of Dr Stipe Suvar, our attention has still been too much turned toward who will be chairman or secretary, whether the length of the term of office will be strictly respected and whether only the chosen few come into consideration for those positions, but it is more important that we have not gotten away from the practice of rotating a certain number of chosen people among all the positions of leadership.

Speaking about the revolutionary personnel in the liberation war and Tito's era, Suvar says that petty bourgeois circles--and our socialist public is being taken in by this--are nurturing the opinion that those people are making decisions at all levels, since they have held the positions of leadership virtually from the war until today. Yet we do not have people like that in the party even if we wanted them, a few of them have remained in the central committees, but there are none of them in associated labor nor in the delegate system. If we make an exception for the leadership of the veterans' organization, which makes no decisions about anything, but acts more as a spokesman for the moral and political consciousness of what is left of the Partizan generation, in positions of leadership throughout the country, and that exclusively in political bodies, we perhaps have 100 people or so who are getting along in years. We are not being impeded by Tito's fighters who are still holding positions of leadership, and we can only regret that their numbers have thinned out. The problem lies more in careerism, in mediocracy and the johnny-come-lately mentality which has become so widespread in our society. Here again I would be cautious and reserved toward this mechanical criterion about retirement in the literal and political sense.

#### The Chairman's Term of Office

After saying that he had not intended to speak, since he agreed with the criteria proposed, but since they had been called into question during the discussion, Branko Puharic took a position on certain issues. In the public, it seems to me, the extremes prevail on the question of how many candidates there should be. What this actually is is pressure for a change of personnel in the leadership bodies of the LC at all levels, and we have to honor that demand, not because of the pressures, but because we ourselves feel that this is a step, if not a historical step, a very important one toward democratization of personnel policy. It is also impossible to dispute the demand expressed in the public debate that the LCY Congress elect the LCY Central Committee. To be sure, there may be certain problems here; however, if we approach this seriously, we will see that no member of the LCY Central Committee can be elected by gambling on the republic interest and that election in the congress ought to be a barrier for all those personnel who see the interest of the republic outside the context of socialist consensus.

Puharic also came out in favor of uniform regulation of the length of the term of office in all communities, since there are no obstacles to that, but the diversity today is a reflection of political forces in the various regions. Retirement of some of the older comrades is not a political question, but a question of law.

These are only certain reflections which actually postpone final adoption of the proposed text of the criteria, but this did not end the debate on personnel policy. That is, since the amendments and supplements to the Instruction on the Organization of the LC at the University were accepted without discussion and the date set for holding the 3d Conference of the Croatian LC (17-18 May), there were a few more hours of discussion of an item on the agenda referred to as Consultations on Election of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

Stanko Stojcevic, secretary of the Presidium, made the case for the proposal at length, but the essence of his speech was that the Presidium feels that the opportunity should be opened for lengthening the term of office of the chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee by another year.

Many arguments were heard in the discussion as to why this should be done and there were many compliments about the work of Mika Spiljak, and Ivan Gregorevic, chairman of the Bylaws Commission, explained that under Article 112 the bylaws allow the Central Committee to make such a decision. In the discussion there were also those who disputed that proposal.

The Central Committee has adopted a political decision having to do with the bylaws which makes it possible for a member of the Presidium who has already held that post to be elected chairman of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee. Mika Spiljak's motion that the vote on the proposal of the decision be secret was not adopted. The decision is political in nature, it was voted in by open ballot, with one vote against.

7045

CSO: 2800/335

YUGOSLAVIA

## ELECTION SCHEDULE FOR FEDERAL-LEVEL OFFICIALS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 85 p 5

[Article by I. Torov]

[Text] According to the "timetable" which has now become established, during this month and next all officials with a 1-year term of office and many whose 2-year term is expiring will be replaced at the level of the Federation and in the republics, provinces and opstinas.

New officials numbering in the thousands will be elected from the ranks of collective bodies of leadership solely in sociopolitical communities, it is estimated. The immensity and political significance of this job is indicated by the datum that in each of the country's 520 opstinas some 4 or 5 officials are to be elected. It is estimated that some 10,000 new officials with the shorter term of office are to be elected this spring in all sociopolitical communities and organizations from the opstina to the Federation.

Radovan Vlackovic, the New Chairman

The SFRY State Presidency, whose new membership, its third since 1971 when it was first set up according to the idea and on the initiative of Comrade Tito concerning the collective head of state, is today getting a new chairman to succeed Veselin Djuranovic (Montenegro). For the next year the collective State Presidency will be headed by Vojvodina's representative Radovan Vlackovic, who has been vice chairman of the State Presidency for the past year. According to the sequence established, the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency following him will be Sinan Hasani (Kosovo), Lazar Mojsov (Macedonia), Branko Mikulic (Bosnia-Herzegovina), and then in 1989 the 5-year tenure of this membership of the State Presidency will expire. The other members of the SFRY State Presidency are Stane Dolanc (Slovenia), Nikola Ljubicic (Serbia) and Josip Vrhovec (Croatia).

The change at the head of the State Presidency is an occasion for another recollection that Comrade Tito first took the public initiative for formation of the collective leadership of the state on 21 September 1970 in a conversation with the political activist in Zagreb. The very next year the constitutional amendments were adopted and the State Presidency was created; its first chairman, who also held the office of president of the Republic, was Tito. Inaugurated on 29 July 1971, it had 24 members, 2 from each republic and province,

and it also included the presidents of the republic and provincial assemblies as ex officio members.

The new 1974 Constitution set up the SFRY State Presidency to consist of one representative from each republic and province and the chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee as an ex officio member.

After Tito's death in 1980 the post of president of the Republic was eliminated, the State Presidency became the collective head of state and took over all the powers previously held by the president of the Republic. At the moment of Tito's death Lazar Kolisevski was vice chairman of the State Presidency, and under the constitution he automatically became chairman of the State Presidency with a term of office that lasted 11 days, from 4 to 15 May 1980. Cvijetin Mijatovic, Lazar Kolisevski, Petar Stambolic, Fadilj Hodza and Vidoje Zarkovic were the members of the State Presidency beginning in 1974, and Edvard Kardelj, Vladimir Bakaric and Stevan Doronjski were succeeded upon their death by Sergej Krajger, Mika Spiljak and Radovan Vljakovic.

It is well known that the term of office of members of the State Presidency of Yugoslavia is 5 years, but they may be elected twice in succession.

The delegates of both chambers of the Assembly of Yugoslavia are also electing today new officials whose term of office will last until 15 May of next year. The Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments has confirmed the nomination of Ilijaz Kurtesi, delegate of Kosovo in the Federal Chamber, as president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia with a 1-year term of office. According to the sequence established earlier, the next presidents would come from Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Serbia....

The nominee for vice president of the Assembly is Zdravko Ciric, Croatian delegate in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, for president of the Federal Chamber Dr Miodrag Trifunovic (Serbia) and for president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces Metodi Antov (Macedonia). At the same time candidates have been nominated for the chairmen of all the working bodies of the Assembly, whose term of office will also be 1 year.

As for the Federal Executive Council, so far there have been no announcements of possible changes in its membership.

#### A Change at the Helm of Sociopolitical Organizations

During this month and next changes are also foreseen at the helm of all organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal level:

Ali Sukrija, the present chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, whose 1-year term of office expires in the latter half of June, will according to the established sequence of rotation be replaced by a new chairman who will be a member of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee from the Montenegrin LC, whose term of office will end at the 13th LCY Congress next June. The succeeding chairmen will come from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, Vojvodina, Macedonia, Croatia.... Dimce Belovski will be secretary of the

Presidium of the LCY Central Committee (with a term of office of 2 years) for another year.

In the course of this month Marjan Rozic (Slovenia), who is now chairman of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, will turn that position over to a member of the Presidium from Macedonia for the next year. Dr Aleksandar Grlickov has been nominated for chairman. Milan Uzelac, secretary of the Presidium will remain in that post for another year.

Mihajlo Svabic (Serbia) has been nominated for chairman of the Federal Board of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia, Lazar Djodjic (Montenegro) for chairman of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, the chairman of the Federal Council of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia will come from Kosovo, and the chairman of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women of Yugoslavia from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It might be said, then, that this May-June change of personnel at the head of the collective bodies of sociopolitical communities and organizations at the federal level and also in the republics, provinces and opstinas is a true political introduction to election year 1986, when elections will be held to delegate assemblies and to the leadership bodies of sociopolitical organizations.

#### Sequence of Rotation of Officers at the Federal Level

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>1985/1986</u>	<u>1986/1987</u>	<u>1987/1988</u>	<u>1988/1989</u>	<u>1989/1990</u>
SFRY Assembly-- president	Kosovo	Croatia	Slovenia	Macedonia	Serbia
Presidium of the LCY Central Committee:					
Chairman	Montenegro	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Vojvodina	Macedonia	Croatia
Secretary	Macedonia	Serbia	Serbia	Kosovo	Kosovo
Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY:					
Chairman	Macedonia	Montenegro	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Serbia	Kosovo
Secretary	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Macedonia	Macedonia	Croatia	Croatia

Sequence of Rotation of Officers at the Federal Level (continued)

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>1985/1986</u>	<u>1986/1987</u>	<u>1987/1988</u>	<u>1988/1989</u>	<u>1989/1990</u>
Conference for the Social Ac- tivity of Women--chairman	Bosnia- Hercego- vina	Macedonia	Croatia	Slovenia	Montenegro
Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions--chairman	Montenegro	Serbia	Croatia	Slovenia	Bosnia- Hercego- vina
Federal Board of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia-- chairman	Serbia	Bosnia- Hercego- vina	Croatia	Vojvodina	Macedonia
Federal Council of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia-- chairman	Kosovo	Slovenia	Macedonia	Montenegro	Bosnia- Hercego- vina

7045

CSO: 2800/337

YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN COMMENT ON CROATIAN TRIALS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALIGEMEINE in German 22 May 85 p 5

[Article by Viktor Meier: "'A Squad of Soldiers Is All That Is Needed To Take Care of Writers --Political trials in Croatia--Threats Against The Church"]

[Text] Zagreb, 21 May--Croatia has gone through a "spring of trials." In three proceedings, held in Osijek, Varazdin and Zagreb, a total of 23 defendants were sentenced as "Ustase terrorists." Their sentences ranged from a few months to 20 years. The proceedings were organized in such a way as to have a "principal defendant" in each. It is possible, even probable, that some of the defendants had engaged in and planned actions, including terrorist ones, intended to serve the cause of Croatian nationalism and separatism, but others had obviously been put in the dock under rather dubious circumstances. Public opinion in Zagreb does not think very highly of the proceedings because in the past few years and months, as was openly admitted at the highest political level, the political police in this republic had used demonstrably false charges and illegal methods, and as a result some of those responsible for this are now to be brought to trial themselves. Croatian prisons are holding people arrested because of a bomb explosion a good 10 years ago who insist that they had nothing to do with the matter and that they had confessed only because they were being seriously maltreated.

Great doubt as to the objectivity of the proceedings which have now been concluded was aroused in Zagreb by the fact that the judge in the last trial in Zagreb--Ilija Ivanic, a Serb from Lika--made a long political speech on the occasion of the sentencing, justifying all the trials with political arguments. This is illegal, but Ivanic has been a specialist in political trials in Zagreb for years and apparently enjoys the support of the supreme leadership of the republic. In his address Ivanic outlined two "principal fighting directions" of the trials. First, he explained, the proceedings showed to what extent the Catholic Church--the "clerical nationalism" which it represents--at present was influencing young people and causing them to commit political offenses. The "passivity" of "social organizations" in this matter was incomprehensible, he said. It was no coincidence, he pointed out, that some of the defendants had met at the Croatian Catholic mission in Stuttgart and that most of them had attended

classes in Catholic religion. The Zagreb journal DANAS took up this thread, stating in connection with the trials that it was indeed cause for disquiet that "clerical nationalistic activities" had increased considerably of late, from bomb threats to painting swastikas in schools and public places. DANAS does not explain to its readers what swastikas have to do with Catholicism and the church; apparently what matters now in Croatia is simply to indulge in antichurch invective.

Judge Ivanic, however, was taking aim against yet another enemy--the intellectuals, particularly writers. A couple of weeks ago the Yugoslav Writers Congress adopted a resolution in Novi Sad in which it demanded the abolition of the long-disputed article 103 concerning so-called verbal offenses. In accordance with this article any Yugoslav making negative remarks about the regime, even in private, can be put in prison. Judge Ivanic stated emphatically that he would fight for retaining the article as long as he lived, for even someone who was turning away from the Yugoslav socialist system in his thoughts was opposing it, and if he went so far as to put this into words he was committing a crime. Threatening, Judge Ivanic indicated that those writers who demanded the abolition of the article, so important for the Yugoslav socialist system, might have reason to be afraid of him.

The Zagreb judge, who was speaking with such political panache, was in fact acting as the mouthpiece of one of his ideological masters. Addressing relieved and supportive local officials at Imotski in the Dalmatian region of Zagorje in mid-April, Stipe Suvar, ideological secretary of the Croatian party (who more than a year ago allegedly had used his "services" to come up with a record of remarks made primarily by Serbian and Slovene writers) said that one should not be afraid "of a few writers." What are they worth anyway, "a squad of soldiers" was all that was needed to take care of them.

This was taken up by the Split paper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and commented on accordingly under the motto of "Suvar's recipe," and this in turn prompted the Belgrade journal NIN to state that Suvar's remark defied comment for now but was quite remarkable as a "signpost" indicating Suvar's intentions. This led Suvar to write a letter to the editor of NIN complaining that his remarks had been quoted "out of context." NIN replied that there simply was no kind of context in which one was allowed to make such a remark. Suvar's remark, incidentally, was also discussed at the Yugoslav Writers Congress in Novi Sad.

The intentions and mental attitude becoming evident from Suvar's remarks and those of the organizers of the trials in Zagreb no longer can simply be laid at the door of the Yugoslav regime. They are primarily typical of the political climate prevailing these days in Croatia and among its discordant and divided leadership. This leadership--like, to some extent, that of Bosnia and, in a rudimentary way, that of Vojvodina--considers it to be its task to defend "the heritage of Tito" against an ever-increasing number of "enemies," ranging from the Catholic Church to the intellectuals and the political leaderships of the Serbian and Slovene republics.



YUGOSLAVIA

# PRO-REGIME THEOLOGIAN GRMIC DISCUSSES CHURCH SITUATION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 May 85 pp 5-6

[Interview with Dr Vekoslav Grmic, professor at the Maribor School of Theology, by BORBA reporters Rajko Vujatovic and Smail Festic and VECERNJI LIST reporter Marinko Culic: "There Is No Dialogue With the Devil"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Although every bit of two decades has passed since the Second Vatican Council, the spirit of ecumenicalism is still having a hard time taking root. As a matter of fact, just a few years after that Vatican assembly it became clear that nothing would come of the spirit of the Council, since the church had not shown even a small amount of goodwill to alter its own institutional structures. Put simply, the church has remained loyal to itself and does not wish any sort of serious changes.

And why is that so, why is the church today moving further and further from the people, why even today are certain church dignitaries refusing any sort of dialogue with all those who favor change, especially with the Marxists, how is it that antisocialist tendencies are increasingly evident in the conservative wing of the church, how is it that clericalism is more evident on our own soil than ever before, what does the theology of liberation offer, and what is offered by socialist theology, who today is following the platform of Alojzije Stepinac, and why ...?

The answer to these and a number of other questions concerning the relations between religion and society were sought by BORBA reporters Rajko Vujatovic and Smail Festic and VECERNJI LIST reporter Marinko Culic in an interview with Dr Vekoslav Grmic, professor at the Maribor School of Theology, whose activity has been noted not only within the church, but equally within the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, of which he is a member.

## The Rich Also Plundered God

"A few years after the Second Vatican Council," Dr Vekoslav Grmic said, "it seemed that the church would truly renew itself in the spirit of the Council decisions. But unfortunately it quickly turned out that that would require a thorough change of its institutional structures if it wanted to breathe life into the spirit of the Council, and it became evident in a short time that

"new wine is not for old mixtures." The new face of the church, as conceived at the Council, would have had to abandon notions of its pyramidal structure and bend more and more toward decentralization and 'democratization.'"

[Question] But, Mr Grmic, that is no simple matter.

[Answer] True, you are right. The church would above all like to remain a strong institution, indeed a clerical institution in which the priests, the bishops and the pope would have the last word on everything, and the people on nothing. It seems to the church that it is dangerous for an institution to speak too much about the people, since, as you see, the people behave differently.

Bringing the church up-to-date is something that goes against its exaggerated institutionalism and dogmatism and that is why it is no wonder that any updating arouses many reservations in many people. And those reservations exist because updating presupposes an ongoing reform, especially today when we face the knowledge that everything is relative and that "all is in flux." Acknowledging something like that means jeopardizing the "atmosphere of absolutism."

[Question] And you are one of the well-known advocates of updating the church?

[Answer] Well, that is a normal thing, since the church does live in this world and it is not, nor can it be, above the world. The church should and does have something to say to the contemporary world, not to the world 100 years ago. The church must serve the contemporary man, and to be able to do that it must take on life in this world, in man, in his views of the world, in his history, it must advocate affirmation of socialist values.

[Question] One gets the idea that the church is not on the side of the poor, although, as Dr Tomislav Sagi-Bunic puts it, even Christ preached to the poor.

[Answer] The church ought to be on the side of the poor, just as the church is doing today in Latin America, where the rich have even plundered God. But, I would say, the church should also be on the side of all those who are persecuted and who are suffering. But it, the church, you see, wants to have power over the people, wants the people to be obedient to it. That is why it establishes alliances with those who have the power. It is feeble in taking the side of the poor and impoverished, feeble in taking the side of the oppressed, just as it is inadequate in advocating peace, which liberates, and just as it is not rejecting nuclear arms radically enough. That is why its effort for a truly better world is unconvincing. That is also the reason why we must all be in favor of an open, ecumenical and democratic church and a "church from the grass roots."

[Question] It is said of the church in Latin America that it is a "church of the grass roots."

[Answer] The theology of liberation, which is present there today, is not any sort of theoretical theology, this is a movement. That is in fact what

Leonardo (Bof) has said. That is that grass roots church, not the church created from above. (Bof) puts it nicely: here there are bishops and priests just as there are ordinary believers. All are together, this is the new face of the church. But Rome has always wanted, and indeed desires it even now, a church built more like a pyramid with those who make the decisions at the apex, while God's people obeys the teaching of the church.

[Question] But the congregation in Rome has a somewhat different understanding of the theology of liberation.

[Answer] The congregation in Rome has swindled the theology of liberation with Marxism. Not Marxism as an analysis of society, but as a view of the world. And when it deceived it, it condemned both that theology and Marxism.

[Question] The congregation of Rome nevertheless is not being condemned alone.

[Answer] True, there is antisocialism in the document which was made public on that occasion, it is evident that we are not dealing here with theology, but with politics. This is the policy being carried out by Reagan, a policy of antisocialism, anticommunism.

[Question] You mentioned Reagan.

[Answer] Yes, Reagan is a highly un-Christian man. He speaks as though it is the task of the American nation to preserve Western culture. That is also what Hitler said. But Hitler never spoke about God, nor did he appeal to God, but Reagan is doing this and that is perhaps why this policy is still more dangerous.

Another reason is that American young people are inspired by Reagan. He gives it some kind of function, he has given it some kind of mission. He speaks about the East, about the Russians, as though they were devils which we should annihilate because there is no dialogue with the devil. That is antisocialist, anticommunist, he would annihilate everything in the East.

[Question] Reagan's ties to the Vatican are very strong.

[Answer] In Rome they told the Nazi leaders pretty much this, go and destroy that Bolshevism, and we will come as missionaries, we will make the Russian people Christian again. Today we have much the same diplomacy developing in the same direction. Reagan is doing this in the name of God and peace. But what kind of peace does he want? That is not peace from below, but a peace from above, a peace by force of arms. This is a peace which does not liberate, but a peace which enslaves.

[Question] How do you account for this antisocialist tendency in the church?

[Answer] But it is clear why the church behaves this way. First, because the church puts the greatest emphasis on authority and authoritative systems. And it does that because everything within it is built on the authority of the clergy, and so on. Second, socialism is opposed to private ownership of the

means of production, and that does not fit into the church's views of property. The church has also had difficulty and is still having difficulty with the fact that it must lose its own economic positions and it therefore constantly emphasizes in its encyclicals that private property is something inherent in human nature. Third, the church has been and is against socialism, since socialism, because of the antisocialism of the church, has turned against the church in some countries. They cannot be together if the church is tied up with the regimes which are against socialism. Fourth, socialism, to be sure not in all countries, has become atheistic and therefore the church is against it still more.

[Question] We know that Pope Pius XII was the greatest opponent of socialism and communism, but that is also being said of Pope John Paul II.

[Answer] Pope Pius XII was against socialism, more at the theoretical level, while Pope John Paul II is opposed more on the practical level, and that, it seems to me, because of his own experiences in Poland, and he does not see that it is good that there are also other socialisms.

[Question] In opposition to all that you are well known as a spokesman of the theology after liberation, a theology of socialism. What kind of doctrine is this?

[Answer] Some people call this post-liberation theology, and I say socialist theology, since it must recognize socialist values; that is something that Christianity must recognize. And do you know why Christianity must respect those values? Because this is a system of values turned toward man, who must not in any way be alienated, but truly man. This is the struggle for the classless society. And this is similar to Christianity's advocating the Kingdom of God.

Both socialism and Christianity fail to see man only as the individual, but rather see him also as the human community, since man is a social creature.

[Question] Those are also the intentions of the Second Vatican Council.

[Answer] The people must collaborate in building socialism, that is what that Council pointed out, since it has been said that it is necessary to collaborate even with atheists. And this is where I think the church should be political. After all, let us not forget, an apolitical church is actually more political than ever, but not in the way I spoke of.

But, take care, when I say that the church should collaborate, I am not thinking that it should say: everything is fine in our society. No one can or has said that. We have to be critical both toward society and toward the church, we have to criticize, but not groundlessly, destructively, but we must criticize in order to be able to build. It is not difficult to voice groundless criticism, but it offers nothing and leads nowhere. We have to criticize so that we can build something new and still better. You see, some people would like to change this system, and I say that what we should change above all is the way in which this system is being implemented, we need to change man. How do we change a system which we have not yet achieved?

[Question] Did you arrive at the doctrine of the theology of socialism by accident?

[Answer] Nothing could be further from the truth! How could one arrive by accident at the judgment that socialism is the best system to date, that this is the system which best corresponds to the views of Christianity?

It is a question of my socialism actually being my personal experience. Why? Because when I was a child, and later as a university student here in Maribor, I saw people who had too much of everything and also those who were hungry. And I myself was hungry. I went to the people who could have helped me, since they had money, they had power. I went to them, and they asked me: Are you a member of our organizations? I asked: Which organizations? And they said: Our clerical organizations. When I told them I wasn't, they said to me: Nothing for you.

And that is that experience of mine. That is why I was so happy when things changed. I knew that that former system was unjust and there had to be another system so that those who had nothing to eat and wear would come to have the same rights as those who lived in abundance. I knew that that had to be evened out somehow. I want it to be better for us all, just like Djuranovic and Sukrija desire it.

[Question] Aren't you afraid, Mr Grmic, that because of everything the pope might also call you to Rome, as he did Leonardo (Bof)?

[Answer] Why should I be afraid, if I were afraid, then I would not say what I am saying. The standard I live by is the Gospel and my conscience. You say that I am not particularly in favor in church circles. It is not altogether true that churchmen do not like me. The people in the church who are antisocialist in their outlook do not like me. The people and the believers like me. But I can say that I am also liked by the priests, since a majority of them think like I do.

The difference between (Bof) and me is in doctrine, since at the theoretical level I do not advocate a theology of liberation, but socialist theology, and we already have socialism. The theology of liberation is a danger for those who do not want socialism to come, but here socialism already exists. But something else is at issue. That theology of liberation is not such a danger to the church as it is to the United States, and for that reason it is not predominantly a church matter, but a political question.

[Question] Doesn't it seem that the pope is in a way Reagan's ambassador with these frequent trips to Latin America?

[Answer] That is not altogether the case, since the pope is advocating a theology of reconciliation. Not because of Reagan, but because of his personal attitude. The pope has bad experience with socialism and that is why he does this. But still the views and interests of Reagan and Rome coincide here.

## Tito Never Said That

[Question] Mr Grmic, let us go back for a bit to the relationship between the church and society here in Yugoslavia. Does it seem to you that not much progress has been made toward ecumenicalism even here?

[Answer] Ecumenicalism in Yugoslavia is no simple matter. I constantly repeat that it is not a question here of religious affairs, but here nationality questions are intertwined. And that is why ecumenicalism is having a difficult time taking root in our country. These are matters which came out of World War II, out of everything that happened at that time, and we are all well aware what occurred at that time. This is the question of Jasenovac and certain other truths as well. That is history. Now all of that has been revived once again, and so it is no longer a church question, but a political issue. There have been charges, and an appeal is being made to the past.

If brotherhood and unity had taken better root, ecumenicalism would also be better. And that is why we need to emphasize brotherhood and unity. It also depends on the strength of ecumenicalism. That is why the church has an important apostolate. After all, if it did more to advocate brotherhood and unity, it would also have done more to advocate ecumenicalism. And conversely.

[Question] You seem to mean that the problem of ecumenicalism in our country is the problem of relations between the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox Churches.

[Answer] This is where ecumenicalism is having the hardest time taking root for precisely the reasons I have stated. The Ustashi and the Chetniks are to blame for that, their atrocities constitute a barrier.

[Question] How in that context do you interpret last year's statement by Mr German in Jasenovac when he said "we forgive, but we do not forget"?

[Answer] If someone says he forgives, that means that there ought no longer to be hatred, but when he says that he does not forget, that means that the Serbian Orthodox Church is always cautious when it comes to the relationship with the Catholic Church.

But I would say something else. There is not the hatred in the population that there is in church circles. And do you know why? Because the church institutions constantly think that they are threatening one another, while actually both churches are struggling to strengthen their own institutions. And then the church tries to identify itself with the nationality that is against ecumenicalism. If the churches collaborated more, they would be strengthening ecumenicalism and then the relations between our nationalities would be less nationalistic.

[Question] The prevailing opinion is that all of these clericalistic currents today go back to Stepinac, i.e., that that is where the platform is to be found?

[Answer] Stepinac was altogether dependent upon Pope Pius XII. Everything he said was sacred to Stepinac. For him it was also sacred that that pope was against socialism and communism. Pius XII, let us not forget, was predisposed toward those who were fighting against Bolshevism, that in fact led him to have ties with Nazism. And that is why immediately after the war Tito said to Stepinac that he should be less dependent upon the Vatican, that he should be a bit more independent as far as the policy toward socialism was concerned.

[Question] The judgments are not valid, then, that Tito called upon Stepinac to separate the Catholic Church in our country from the Vatican?

[Answer] Tito never wanted that, Tito was from Zagorje and he knew quite well what the Catholic Church means in Croatia. He could not have said anything like that.

[Question] Doesn't this all have to do with an attempt to rehabilitate Stepinac since, the story goes, if Stepinac had acceded to Tito's alleged proposal for secession from the Vatican, which never occurred, then supposedly Stepinac would not have been tried?

[Answer] Had Stepinac agreed to be less dependent upon the Vatican, then Tito might have pardoned him, if he wished. He did after all pardon certain others when they agreed to work for the good of the new state. And as for Stepinac's guilt, no one has yet refuted the court verdict concerning his guilt. We need to distinguish some things here--a pardon is one thing, and an act of guilt is something else.

#### Renouncing Stepinac Is To Acknowledge a Mistake

[Question] Now assertions are even being made that Strosmajer also favored secession from the Vatican.

[Answer] That does not stand up. Strosmajer was against the dogma of papal infallibility because of his ecumenical stand: Strosmajer was a great ecumenicalist. Likewise Strosmajer advocated greater independence of the bishops, a collegial spirit in the church, which is in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.

[Question] What is exactly the reason why the Catholic Church in Croatia does not renounce Stepinac today or Rozman in Slovenia?

[Answer] If the official church did that, it would have to admit that it did something wrong, that it was guilty of something. If it admitted that something it did was not good, it would at the same time be acknowledging that it must be different, that it must change, that it must change its views toward the system.

[Question] The church's reluctance to do that is also confirmed by the words of Cardinal Kuharic in Rome, who recently declared that the believers in our country are exposed to "great tribulations."

[Answer] That is one more piece of evidence that the church wants to set the tone which society is to conform to, i.e., it is to be measured against its views and its yardstick. The church is separate from the state and has been more or less traditionally antisocialist, and that is why it emphasizes that there are no freedoms in a socialist society. And we are that socialist society. And it simply is not true that the church does not have freedoms in our country, if we ignore certain minor moments of excess. I would say that at certain moments it even has too much freedom. Just look at the publication of church newspapers and journals. So many that it would be better if there were fewer of them and if they were better.

[Question] How do you explain the "flood" of those church periodicals?

[Answer] The reason is that the church thinks that in this way it will achieve what it once achieved through religious instruction in the schools.

[Question] But there are also more and more events organized by the church.

[Answer] That is a way of achieving some kind of greater psychological influence. And yet another piece of evidence of full freedom.

[Question] Clericalism is more and more present, no one denies it any longer, and you recently declared that we have never had so much of it on our soil as we do today. Why is that the case?

[Answer] Because the church thinks it is threatened by socialism. That is also why it sees it as its mission to lead people against socialism. It can do that only if it becomes still more clericalistic, i.e., if people obey the clergy, the bishops, and so on. So, that is the reason why clericalism has enjoyed a resurgence within the church.

[Question] How much do our shortcomings in society also contribute to all of this?

[Answer] They are making an exceeding contribution, since the church conceives all of our shortcomings as shortcomings of socialism in general. It sees those shortcomings and thinks that its time has come to move into the foreground. It also sees in those everyday shortcomings of society the shortcomings of the theory of socialism which, in its view, is incapable of solving all the outstanding social problems and it therefore feels called upon to do this itself. And what is actually involved is that the church wants restoration of all its privileges. The shortcomings which exist in society play into its hands in all of this, above all the sectarian attitude toward the church and religion, which we cannot say does not exist.

Through the LC To Power

[Question] You mentioned the schools. You said that they could be neutral concerning theism and atheism, that neither needs to be propagandized. But you also said recently that the school cannot be neutral when it comes to our self-management socialism.



[Answer] The school must not indoctrinate young people in any respect, but it must teach young people socialist values, self-management, and so on. Indeed, every school in the world is bringing up young people for its own system, the system in which they are working. That is also the way it should be in our country.

[Question] Does it not seem to you that some church circles are increasingly interested in having believers become members of the League of Communists? To what extent is that compatible?

[Answer] That is advocated by church circles who think that that is the way to power. They do not want to work within the Socialist Alliance, since they think that they cannot reach power in that way. And I say that the Socialist Alliance is the place for all those to come together who are in favor of our self-management socialism.

[Question] How legitimate are the demands of the church that it be present on television, over the radio, in the press, and so on?

[Answer] By way of information the church can say what it is doing through those media, but neither the TV, nor radio, nor the public press can be used to propagate religion, just as they do not propagate atheism. This is the best solution, and that is the way it is today. Propaganda of any kind can only cause us to quarrel, can only lead to dissension. That is why it is best like it is.

[Question] Recently, in a meeting of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY you declared as one of its members that we must strengthen the work ethic and responsibility to a greater extent. What exactly were you referring to?

[Answer] I constantly wonder how it is that our workers employed abroad temporarily perform well, and we say that they do not behave like that in our country. We have moral standards as to work, but we are not achieving them. Why? It seems that it has to do with motivation for more work, since our workers are not simply perverse and refuse to work. It seems to me that those at fault are the organizers of that work, who ought to do that job more responsibly. And that is why I do not separate the work ethic from the ethics of responsibility. After all, if an organizer is irresponsible, that irresponsibility normally passes on to the workers.

[Question] But how is one to motivate workers when they realize that one can also live well without working?

[Answer] That is because the workers see quite well that our social overhead, the administration, is cumbersome and in the past has several times lived well at their expense. Something has to be changed here, since nothing is absolute. In this sense we have to reorganize.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

## BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN--Radovan Vlackovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received Mitko Calovski, newly appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, before the latter's departure for his duty. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 May 85 p 6]

INTERIOR SECRETARIAT ALGERIAN VISIT--A delegation of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs headed by Mirko Bunevski, deputy federal secretary, concluded its visit to Algeria as a guest of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Local Communities. Bunevski had talks with M'hamed Hadj Yala, Algerian minister of interior, with the general secretary of the ministry, and the general director of the National Security Service. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 85 p 6]

NEWSPAPERS, TANJUG FINANCIAL POSITION--Belgrade, 6 May--At its session discussing the socio-economic position of the papers founded by organs and organizations of the Federation, the SAWPY Federal Conference Section for Information and Public Opinion stated that organs of federal organizations find it more difficult to solve their financial problems than the same kind of papers in republics and provinces. In his introductory speech, Rastko Guzina stated that overall income in the economy in general increased by 61.9 percent on the average in 1984 as against 1983, and for the newspaper organizations, the figure is only 43.7. It was also said at the session that the TANJUG agency has concluded the year 1984 with a loss of about 80 million dinars and that Radio Yugoslavia every year has its expenses covered from the budget only after they are already incurred. MLADOST, RAD, and 4 Jul virtually have no funds, since very little money is left after their final account is made. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 May 85 p 3]

DAGESTAN DELEGATION VISITS KOSOVO--Pristina--A delegation of the Dagestan ASSR headed by Magomedali Magomedovich Magomedov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is paying a visit of several days of Kosovo. The delegation was received by Nedjo Boskovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They discussed the cooperation so far between the USSR and Yugoslavia, and within this framework, between the Dagestan ASSR and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Particular attention was paid to the further development and advancement of economic, scientific-technological, and cultural-educational cooperation between our country and the USSR. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 85 p 6]

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Inflation is affecting delegates as well as other citizens; hence it will also be a reason for taking the initiative in correcting basic incomes. [passage omitted] [Excerpt] [Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 May 85]

MONTENEGRO BANK LC DISBANDED--Titograd, 28 May (TANJUG)--The municipal committee of the Titograd LC today disbanded the LC basic organization of the Ljubljana bank, in the capital of Montenegro. A special work group will examine the individual responsibility of the members of the basic organization who abused their business authority and together with another group of employees in this bank during the past 4 years made possible for 32 beneficiaries of foreign exchange credits to use their fixed-term credits prematurely. By so doing, according to checks carried out so far, they damaged society by 5 million dinars. After this bank's basic LC organization had examined the results of control organs, it punished five of its members who abused their business position with a final warning and the other four with even milder measures of ideopolitical responsibility. Considering these measures too mild and considering that this party organization was not capable of carrying out the line of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and the party statute in a responsible and principled manner, the municipal committee of the Titograd LC decided to disband it. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1578 GMT 28 May 85]

PUBLISHERS DISCUSS FINANCIAL WOES--Novi Sad, 30 May (TANJUG)--At its meeting in Novi Sad today, the Community of Newspaper Publishers of Yugoslavia discussed the difficult material situation affecting the press. It also examined ways of enabling the press to perform its responsible sociopolitical function. Inadequate funds and a difficult financial position have affected the way in which the press covers such important subjects as our country's development, world events, the development of self-management, our country's foreign activity, nonaligned countries' activity, etc. Ilija Borovnjak, president of the community's executive committee, submitted concrete figures which show that compared with 1983, the newspaper publishers' overall income in 1984 fell by 20 percent and that the circulation of several daily newspapers has fallen by 5 to 8 percent. Participants in the meeting agreed that the role and place of the information media in Yugoslavia has been underestimated and that the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces should honor their agreement on a joint policy in solving the information media's financial difficulties. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 30 May 85]

DELCEVO GOCE'S DAYS RALLY--Delcevo, June 1 (TANJUG)--"The history will hold responsible contemporary political subjects on the Balkans for being slave to nationalistic and greater state interests and ambitions and for being incapable of showing sufficient wisdom to objectively view and solve the existing problems." The above was stressed today by League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Secretary Dimce Belovski addressing a large rally in Delcevo, a small town in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The rally was held within the framework of the long-standing manifestation "Goce's Days", held in commemoration of great Macedonian revolutionary Goce Delcev. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian (no time and date given)]

VLASKALIC'S VISIT TO POLAND--Warsaw 21 May (TANJUG)--Tihomir Vlaskalic, member of the LCY Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Council for Questions of the Social System, visited Poland for 3 days as part of the LCY-PZPR cooperation program. He had talks with Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences; Henryk Bednarski, central committee secretary for ideology; party voivodship committee secretaries in Warsaw; and with the first secretary of the voivodship committee in Wroclaw. In Wroclaw, Vlaskalic delivered three lectures on the economic and political system in our country. Yugoslavia's self-management experience evoked the special interest of his listeners. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 21 May 85]

CROATIAN ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE--Zagreb, 23 May (TANJUG)--The Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-protection of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, under the chairmanship of Mika Spiljak, today examined a number of issues within the framework of methods and ways of monitoring and assessing the political and security situation in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and established the guidelines and immediate tasks for organs and organizations in the republic and for smaller sociopolitical communities. The committee is reported to have particularly warned of the need for efficient and timely action by all social subjects to prevent the possible emergence of and the elimination of all phenomena and tendencies which could have or have a negative influence on the political and security situation in our country. All these activities, it was stressed at the committee session, must be directed toward further development and consolidation of the system of socialist self-management and the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 23 May 85]

MILITARY COUNCIL SESSION--Belgrade 28 May (TANJUG)--A session of the Military Council took place in the Federal Secretariat of National Defense today under the chairmanship of Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense. Current questions concerning the combat readiness of our armed forces last year and ensuing tasks [words indistinct] were discussed during the session. It was assessed that [a] significant result has been attained in this (?sphere). Some current cadre questions in the Yugoslav People's Army and main directions of scientific and research work in the armed forces of the SFRY were also discussed. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 28 May 85]

FEDERAL OFFICIALS' PERSONAL INCOMES--What does it mean to be an SFRY Assembly delegate from the financial point of view? The Administrative Commission was making decisions today about some problems of that kind. Olivija Rusovac reports: Personal incomes in the Federation are lower than in most republics; therefore, federal offices are less and less attractive. As Radovan Simic, president of the commission, said, the prime minister [Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council] receives 110,000 dinars a month, the same as a better engineer in a successful factory in Croatia. According to official data, personal incomes in the republics and provinces in the first 3 months have been increased from 52 to 71 percent.

relations as a factor of political stability on the Balkans, Belovski said that "sincere wish for development of good-neighbour relations, friendship and confidence cannot by-pass the existing open questions." [Text]  
[Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 1 Jun 85]

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